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## **Paul and Contemporary Jewish Thought**





The Relation of St. Paul  
to  
Contemporary Jewish Thought

*An Essay to which was awarded the  
Kaye Prize for 1899*

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ΠΡΟΕΚΟΠΤΟΝ ΕΝ Τῷ 'ΙΟΥΔΑΪΣΜῳ.

καὶ ἀναστήσεται ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματός μου ἐν ἰστέροις καιροῖς  
ἀγαπητὸς Κυρίου, ἀκούων ἐπὶ γῆς φωνὴν αὐτοῦ, γινώσκων καινὴν  
φωτίζων πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, φῶς γνώσεως ἐπεμβαίνων τῷ 'Ισραὴλ  
ἐν σωτηρίᾳ, καὶ ἁρπάζων ὡς λύκος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ διδοὺς τῇ  
συναγωγῇ τῶν ἐθνῶν.—TEST. BENJ. XI.

ἦν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις . . . σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν ὑπὲρ  
τοῦ 'Ιουδαϊσμοῦ παραβεβλημένος μετὰ πάσης ἐκτενείας.

II. MACC. XIV. 38.

## PREFATORY NOTE.

THE present Essay, with some slight alterations, is printed in the form in which it was submitted to the adjudicators of the Kaye Prize. The writer cannot claim to have treated the subject either exhaustively or with any large degree of originality. He has confined himself to those aspects of the Pauline theology, where the traces of dependence upon contemporary Judaism are most conspicuous. The works to which he is principally indebted are the *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* by Dr. Sanday and Mr. Headlam, and Weber's *Jüdische Theologie*. Other obligations are acknowledged in the list of authorities which follows and throughout the Essay. The writer has to thank the Rev. A. E. Brooke, Fellow and Dean of King's College, Cambridge, for reading through the proofs of the earlier part of the Essay and for some suggested improvements. He trusts that, while considering the great Apostle as a born Hebrew of the Hebrews, and the affinity of certain of his doctrines



and modes of thought to those of the Jewish theology which was current at the opening of the Christian era, he has not been led to overlook the unique constructiveness of the 'wise masterbuilder' St. Paul, or to underestimate the guiding and over-ruling influence of divine revelation in the gradual building up of his Christianity.

H. St. J. T.

LONDON, *September*, 1900.

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## CHAPTER I.

### INTRODUCTION.

THE subject of the present essay is the relation of St. Paul to contemporary Jewish thought. It is an endeavour to ascertain whether, and to what extent, St. Paul's theology was influenced by doctrines and beliefs current among the Jews of his day, with which he, a Pharisee and son of a Pharisee, a Hebrew of the Hebrews, must have been most intimately acquainted. He had, we know, in his Pharisaic days made progress in 'Judaism' beyond many of his contemporaries, owing to his excessive zeal for the traditions of his fathers (Gal. 1. 14). He had lived a Pharisee according to the strictest sect of the Jews' religion (Acts 26. 5). But then came the great break in his life occasioned by the vision on the way to Damascus. The question with which we are concerned is to discover whether his conversion did cause a complete break, an entire revulsion from all the opinions which he held previously to that date, or whether any of his Pharisaic beliefs outlived the crisis, and were carried over in a modified form into his Christianity. The break was indisputably one

A



of the sharpest kind, and the salient points of difference which distinguished Paul the Apostle alike from the anti-Christian Judaism and the Judaistic Christianity of his time appear on the surface. It is not, however, the points of difference from, but the points of contact with, contemporary Judaism with which we have to deal. Our purpose is not to trace the course of his controversy with Jewish Christianity, but to seek the germ and starting-point of some of the distinctive doctrines of his theology in the Judaism which was current in, and shortly before, the time of Christ. These points of contact are not so readily apparent as the points of difference, and their detection calls for careful investigation. When we consider that some of the most fundamental doctrines of Christianity have been largely moulded by the teaching of the Apostle of the Gentiles, it is clearly a matter of the highest interest to examine how far any of these doctrines are ultimately traceable to a Jewish basis.

Of the many influences which, apart from direct revelation and primitive Christian tradition, contributed to the moulding of St. Paul's language and ideas, we may say that the principal were the Roman Empire, Hellenism, Old Testament theology, and contemporary Judaism. The influence of the Roman Empire on his scheme of missionary labour has recently been brought before us in striking works which have shown the Apostle in the character of a statesman and a Roman citizen.<sup>1</sup> The reflexion of Greek philosophy and Greek customs and ideas in his

Saint Paul's  
manysided-  
ness.  
Formative in-  
fluences.

<sup>1</sup> Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire: St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*.

Epistles has also received illustration.<sup>1</sup> But the last-named influence, that of contemporary Jewish thought, as distinguished from Old Testament theology—for it must be remembered that since the return under Ezra there had been gradually growing up a Jewish theology quite distinct from anything which we find in the O.T.—this influence, although from the nature of the case it must have been the most important element in St. Paul's education, has until recent years, at any rate in this country, not received the attention which it deserves.

Two reasons may be assigned for this neglect. In the first place, exaggerated views of the inspiration of the Apostle prevented critics from attaching sufficient importance to the influences which his Rabbinical training and his environment must have exercised upon him. The idea that his human training could in any way have helped to mould his Christianity was thought to detract from his character as an inspired Apostle. In the second place, this neglect was largely due to a want of contemporary Jewish documents. It was known that the Rabbinical works were not committed to writing until after the time of St. Paul, and the few apocryphal writings which were believed to go back to a date earlier than or contemporary with St. Paul were discredited as not representing the main current of Jewish thought and as being largely adulterated by Christian interpolations. The number of these apocryphal writings has now been considerably increased by discoveries made within the last half-

Reasons for  
former neglect  
of the Jewish  
element in St.  
Paul.

<sup>1</sup> See Hicks, "St. Paul and Hellenism," in *Studia Biblica*, vol. iv., 1896.



century, and their value as evidences of Jewish thought is becoming generally recognized. It is also recognized that the Rabbinic theology, although not committed to writing till the second century or later, very often represents traditions which were orally handed down from an earlier age.

The subject is one to which attention has been drawn in the most recent works on St. Paul. A notable contribution to the study of the Apostle from a Jewish standpoint has been made in the edition of the "Epistle to the Romans" in the *International Critical Commentary*. The authors of that work say, 'We have endeavoured always to bear in mind the Jewish education and training of the writer, which must clearly have given him the framework of thought and language in which his ideas are cast,' and they add that it is 'by a continuous and careful study of such works [as the Psalms of Solomon and the Book of Enoch] that any advance in the exegesis of the N.T. will be possible.'<sup>1</sup> It remains for others to apply to the remaining Pauline Epistles the method of illustration which has been so successfully applied to the Epistle to the Romans. In Germany there has been rather a tendency of late to exaggerate the Jewish element in St. Paul: and this exaggeration has in turn led some critics in this country to an undue depreciation of it. But the desire to minimize the Jewish element is no longer, as formerly, due to mistaken ideas as to his inspiration, but to a fear of detracting from the undoubted originality and independence of the Apostle. As representatives of these opposite

Present position of the problem.

<sup>1</sup> S.-H., *Romans*, Preface vi, vii.

points of view we may take Pfleiderer in the second edition of his most suggestive and stimulating work, *Der Paulinismus*, and the late Dr. Bruce in his work, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*. Pfleiderer,<sup>1</sup> after reading Weber's *System der altsynagogalen palästinischen Theologie*, came to the conclusion that here was to be found the true key to Pauline theology, and accordingly rewrote his earlier work, carrying the dependence of St. Paul on contemporary Jewish thought much further than he had previously done. Dr. Bruce,<sup>2</sup> on the other hand, maintains that this dependence has been overrated. 'St. Paul,' he says, 'was not the slave of Rabbinic theology. . . . The servile use of Talmudic theology as a key to the interpretation of Paulinism spoils the new edition of Pfleiderer. It is a mistake to be constantly on the lookout for sources of Pauline thought in previous or contemporary literature. . . . According to Pfleiderer, one part of St. Paul's theology came from Alexandria and the other from the Jewish synagogue, and the original element, if it exist at all, is reduced to a minimum.' He quotes with approval the remark of Beyschlag that 'it does too little credit to the creative power of the Christian spirit in St. Paul to lay so much stress on the points of resemblance between his views and the Pharisaic theology.' Still he does not deny the existence of this influence altogether. 'That Rabbinism exercised a certain influence in his mind need not be questioned. This influence is traceable in his method of interpreting Scripture and in his style of argumentation, and it is not at all unlikely that it may here and there be discernible in the thought-forms and phraseology of his Christian theology.'

<sup>1</sup> Preface to second edition.

<sup>2</sup> pp. 132, 216, 302.



'Some traces of Rabbinism may cling to one who has made the most radical revolt from Rabbinism.' We may reply to these criticisms of Dr. Bruce that our opinion of the independence and the wonderful creative power of the Apostle is not lessened but rather enhanced by regarding the material views of Rabbinism as the germ out of which some of his lofty and spiritual conceptions were evolved by the great master-builder St. Paul. There is a large number of recent German monographs, prompted no doubt by Pfeleiderer's work, dealing with special aspects of the question, some of which are enumerated at the beginning of this Essay; but there has as yet been no connected work dealing with the whole subject. The chief desiderata before any final conclusions can be arrived at appear to be (1) a detailed study of the Pauline phraseology in the light of Rabbinical writings, such as has been begun in the case of the Gospel phraseology in Dalman's work, *Die Worte Jesu* (Leipzig, 1899), and (2) a more accurate determination of the date of some of the apocryphal works and the final elimination from them of Christian interpolations.

Attempts have been made to give a psychological explanation of the conversion of St. Paul, that is to represent it not as an instantaneous revelation causing an entire revulsion from all the opinions which he had hitherto held, but as the climax of a state of doubts and reflexions which had for some time previously been at work in his mind and had prepared for the final conviction of the truth of Christianity which was brought about by the vision on the road to Damascus. The beginning of the crisis is thus thrown back to an earlier date.

Some considerations with regard to St. Paul's conversion.

Critics have endeavoured to find points of contact in Pharisaic thought which might have led up to this gradually maturing conviction, and to picture the state of mind of St. Paul before the great event. Speculations of this sort do not of course admit of any logical proof: and St. Paul's language about his conversion<sup>1</sup> does not at first sight afford any ground for believing in such a period of transition. Still there are not wanting some few indications in the Epistles and in the Acts that St. Paul had before his conversion come at least to realize the powerlessness of the law as a means of salvation, if not actually to speculate on the possibility of Jesus being the expected Messiah.

(1) The chief of these is the passage in Rom. 7. 7-25 depicting man's relation to law: first the happy life of innocence and ignorance before the claims of the law made themselves felt (*ἐγὼ δὲ ἔζων χωρὶς νόμου ποτέ*), then the coming of the commandment when the sharp consciousness of sin sprang into life (*ἀνέζησεν*), then the long struggle to fulfil the law and the feeling of impotence to carry out what the mind acknowledged to be right, ending with the cry of anguish, 'Wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?' The description is so vivid that, although the *ἐγὼ* which is used throughout the whole passage is not to be identified solely with the Apostle, and the picture is intended to have a more general application, we feel that it must be coloured by his personal experiences, and by experiences prior to his conversion. 'We can hardly doubt that the criticism of the Law as a principle of religion dates back to a time before his definite conversion to

<sup>1</sup> Gal. 1. 13-16. 1 C. 15. 9. 1 Tim. 1. 13.





Christianity. The process described in this chapter clearly belongs to a period when the Law of Moses was the one authority which the Apostle recognized. . . . The apparent suddenness of St. Paul's conversion was due to the tenacity with which he held on to his Jewish faith, and his reluctance to yield to conclusions which were merely negative.<sup>1</sup>

(2) Another indication of a time of growing conviction in St. Paul's mind has sometimes been found in the phrase 'When it pleased God . . . to reveal His Son *in me*' (*ἐν ἐμοί*, Gal. 1. 16). But the meaning of the phrase is not free from doubt. The explanation that *ἐν ἐμοί* merely stands for the dative 'to me' as it sometimes does for a special reason (1 C. 14. 11, see Blass, *Grammar of N.T. Greek*, Engl. trans. 131) is not applicable here. Lightfoot's interpretation, however, that a revelation of Christ *to others* in the person and in the wonderful conversion of the Apostle is intended receives considerable support from the passages which he quotes. Still the meaning 'in my spirit' does not seem an unnatural or an impossible one, though even so we cannot infer that more is meant by the words than the instantaneous inward revelation that accompanied the vision described in the Acts.

(3) Turning to the Acts, the phrase used by St. Paul in his account of his conversion *πρὸς κέντρα λακτιζέειν* (Acts 26. 14)<sup>2</sup> may be explained of the prickings of conscience which were instigating him to a belief in the Christ whose followers he was persecuting.

(4) And the speech at Antioch in Pisidia (Acts 13),

<sup>1</sup> S. H., *Romans*, 187: cf. 184-6.

<sup>2</sup> It is absent from the true text in Acts 9. 4.

if correctly reported, shows traces of the influence which St. Stephen's speech had exercised on his mind.

His antagonism to Christianity probably took the form not only of outward persecution but also of dialectical discussion; and in this way he would have become intimately acquainted with his opponents' doctrines; it is not improbable that he was among the members of the Cilician synagogue who disputed with Stephen (Acts 6. 9). In that case he would hear the Christian arguments from O.T. passages in proof of the suffering and the resurrection of the Messiah: he would hear the evidence of the eyewitnesses of the risen Christ. His Pharisaic training would have made him familiar with the atoning power of the sufferings of the just. There was moreover a widespread belief in Jewish circles in the nearness of the Messiah's coming, combined with another belief that this coming required a holy people. If, as we have seen, the impossibility of attaining to holiness by way of the law had already forced itself upon the Apostle's mind, the question might suggest itself to him whether the required holiness might not have been brought about by the atoning death of this Jesus for whom the Christians were so ready to meet their death. Such is the method by which Pfeiderer<sup>1</sup> has attempted to find connecting links between his life before and after his conversion, and to trace the germ of his doctrines of justification by faith and the atonement in his Pharisaic days. Whatever we may think of this supposed train of reasoning (and it cannot be denied that these last speculations of Pfeiderer are too far-fetched to be

<sup>1</sup> *Paulinismus*, 12.



convincing), it is certain that after the crisis his Jewish prejudices must have played a large part in the formation of his ideas. He occupied a position entirely different from that of the other Apostles. He had not, so far as we know, seen the Lord on earth, and except for a brief stay of fifteen days with Peter, he did not for a long time have any close intercourse with any of the Apostles. This isolation and aloofness from primitive Christian tradition must have forced him to work out independently his theological system, which was thus the outcome of his earlier Rabbinical training, assisted and directed by divine revelation.

The statement put into St. Paul's mouth by the author of the Acts that he was brought up at the feet of Gamaliel (Acts 22. 3) has been discredited by the Tübingen School and other critics, on the ground that a pupil of a master who befriended the Christians (Acts 5) could never have been such a violent persecutor of Christianity. But the pupil need not have been in entire agreement with his master: and it is not paradoxical to suppose in the case of a man of St. Paul's temperament, unwilling to surrender his previous convictions on account of some incipient misgivings which failed to overthrow them completely, that the same doubt which inclined Gamaliel to leniency only heightened the fervour of persecuting zeal in the Apostle. It is certainly a curious fact that the few sayings of Gamaliel which have been preserved present some not uninteresting parallels with St. Paul. He decided that soldiers in time of war and others might be exempted from the stricter rules as to the Sabbath. In two respects he showed a sympathy for the Gentiles: in the directions that the poor heathen

were to have the same right as the poor Jews to gather gleanings after the harvest, and that Jews were to give the salutation, 'Peace be with you,' to heathen even on heathen feast-days. He made regulations relieving divorced wives from abuses on the part of their former husbands, and protecting widows against unscrupulous children. He differed from most Rabbis in encouraging a study of Greek literature. We may not unreasonably trace the influence of these liberal-minded views in the teaching of the Apostle.<sup>1</sup>

The sources available for obtaining a knowledge of Jewish ideas which were current in the time of St. Paul may be divided into two main groups: (1) Palestinian, (2) Alexandrian. The former of these groups falls into two sub-sections, namely (a) the popular theology, represented by a class of apocryphal works, dating roughly from 100 B.C. to 100 A.D., which has been considerably increased by recent discoveries, and (b) the Rabbinic literature, dating from the second century onwards. As the comparatively late date at which the Rabbinical doctrines were committed to writing detracts from the value of the second of these sub-sections and renders it to some extent of secondary importance, we may consider that the following order represents generally the value of the sources for our purposes: (1) Palestinian apocryphal literature, (2) Rabbinic, (3) Alexandrian literature. The last place is given to Alexandria because, although the writings of Philo, the chief representative of the third class, are rather earlier than the Epistles of St. Paul, we may expect to find that Pauline ideas are drawn rather

Sources for  
ascertaining  
contemporary  
Jewish  
thought.

<sup>1</sup> Hamburger, *R.E.*, art. "Gamaliel." Farrar, *St. Paul*, excursus v.



from Palestinian than from Alexandrian sources. While it is of the first importance to date the works to which we may have recourse, it would not be possible within the limits of this Essay adequately to discuss the date of each separate writing, and the writer must be content to accept in most cases the results at which the majority of critics has arrived. Moreover so long as any particular work is ascertained to be purely Jewish, and its date is fixed with tolerable certainty to within half a century, a nearer approximation to the date is obviously not necessary to our purpose. A more accurate investigation of the date would be necessary to establish a theory of direct literary connexion between Pauline and Jewish writings; but that is not the primary object of this Essay. Then again, considering the violent antagonism which existed between Judaism and Christianity, especially Pauline Christianity, from the middle of the first century onwards, it is practically out of the question that a Jewish work dating, say, some thirty years after the death of St. Paul, should have been influenced by the ideas of the Apostle; and we may reasonably infer, if we find parallels to St. Paul in such a work of the end of the first century, that the Jewish writer is the spokesman of older opinions which were current in the middle of the first century, and that it is the Apostle who has borrowed from Jewish ideas and not the Jew who is indebted to the Apostle. The really disturbing factor which complicates the question and renders the value of any one of the sources (especially the apocryphal sources) uncertain is the possibility of Christian interpolation.

### I. Palestinian apocryphal literature.

Under this head we have a large class of apocryphal literature which may generally be described as 'pseudepigraphic,' because the name of some prominent figure in the O.T. was adopted by the unknown writer with a view to gaining a greater currency for his work. These works were for the most part the outcome of some crisis in the history of the nation, and were written to console the people for their immediate sufferings at the hands of heathen oppressors by the prospect of a time of blessing which was in store for them. Rabbinic scholars have been inclined to depreciate this class of literature, on the ground that it was never regarded as authoritative by the early Rabbinic schools and did not represent the real current of Jewish thought. Thus Weber<sup>1</sup> in his useful work leaves it entirely out of account. He considers it to have been of mixed origin, and quotes with approval the dictum of Jost that these writings 'are without importance for the history of the Jews' religion.' This wholesale rejection of the pseudepigraphic writings is certainly not warranted, and now that the genuinely Jewish works or portions of works are gradually being sifted from those of Christian or mixed origin, the value of the former as evidences of early Jewish thought is becoming more and more recognized. In endeavouring to form a picture of contemporary thought, the popular literature of the time must be of no less, and should be of greater value than the authoritative works emanating from the schools of the learned Rabbis. As Dr. Stanton<sup>2</sup> justly remarks, 'the phenomenon of a whole literature

<sup>1</sup> *Jüdische Theologie*, p. xv.    <sup>2</sup> *Jewish and Christian Messiah*, p. 40.



marked by strong and peculiar characteristics, and yet standing in no relation to the general condition of the thought of the age and peoples where it flourished, would be unexampled.' He points out that its abandonment by the Jews was probably due to its being eagerly taken up by the Christians who welcomed it because of the large Messianic element which it contained. As to its character, while it may be considered as an expression of orthodox Judaism, it is essentially popular rather than scholastic: questions are treated from a general point of view and not with Rabbinical exactness: it is "not the product of the school, but of a free religious individuality."<sup>1</sup> We will briefly enumerate the principal works which fall under this class with some remarks as to their character and date, taking in the first place the two which belong to the pre-Christian period, the Book of Enoch and the Psalms of Solomon.

1. The *Book of Enoch* is now recognized by all authorities to be a composite work, made up of a collection of revelations (written at various times), which purport to have been made to Enoch after his translation in a series of peregrinations in which he was shown all the wonders of the universe. With these Enochic fragments have been incorporated fragments of a lost apocalypse of Noah. The whole work, which had a wide reputation in early times, being quoted by Jude and known to the writers of the Book of Jubilees and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, was for a long time lost, but was recovered in an Ethiopic version in Abyssinia in the last century. The original was undoubtedly in Hebrew, and the

<sup>1</sup> Schürer, *H.J.P.* ii. 3. 48 f.

Ethiopic is based on a Greek version, portions of which have recently been recovered. The main divisions of the book are shown in the following table, with the dates assigned to the different portions by Schürer<sup>1</sup> and Charles.

	Charles.	Schürer.	Subject.
I. Chaps. 1-36.	Before 170 B.C.	Part of original writing (130-100 B.C., time of John Hyrcanus).	Chiefly concerned with the Fall of 'the watchers' (Gen. vi.).
II. Chaps. 37-71.	94-64 B.C.	Doubtful; not earlier than time of Herod the Great.	The three Similitudes or Allegories. Contain a picture of the Messiah ('the Son of Man' who is pre-existent, and sits in judgment on the wicked), and the Messianic kingdom, which is unique in Jewish literature.
III. Chaps. 72-82.	Uncertain.	Original writing.	'The Book of the courses of the luminaries of heaven.' Astronomical and scientific.
IV. Chaps. 83-90.	166-161 B.C.	Original writing.	Two Dream Visions. (1) Future Destruction of world by a flood. (2) History of the world, men being symbolized by animals.
V. Chaps. 91-108.	134-94 B.C.	Original writing.	The ten world-weeks, etc.

The clearest indication of a date is afforded by the second of the dream-visions; here the allusions to events in the history of the Jews are explicit down to

<sup>1</sup> *H.J.P.* ii. 3. 54-73.





about the time of the Maccabees. The 'great horn' (90. 9) may refer either to Judas Maccabaeus (Charles) or to J. Hyrcanus (Schürer). All that follows—judgement, the appearance of the new Jerusalem and of the Messiah (symbolized by a white bull)—is regarded as lying in the future. From this we arrive at the conclusion that this part, and possibly the bulk of the work, dates from the latter part of the second century B.C. There has been great divergence of opinion as to whether the second division of the work (the Similitudes) is pre-Christian or not. We shall probably not be wrong in following the majority of recent commentators in holding that, whatever their date, they are, in spite of the unique picture of the Messiah here presented, a purely Jewish work, free from Christian interpolations.<sup>1</sup>

2. The date of the second pre-Christian work, the *Psalms of Solomon*, or *Psalms of the Pharisees*, has been fixed with practical certainty to about 40 B.C. by the clear allusions to the invasion of Palestine by Pompey, and to his death in 48 B.C. on the shore of Egypt (Psalm 2. 30, 31), which are regarded as recent events. The book is therefore a very important piece of evidence as to current Pharisaic ideas shortly before the time of Christ. Unfortunately the nature of the work does not give scope to the Psalmist for entering very deeply into doctrinal questions. The most important section is undoubtedly the picture of Messiah and his kingdom in Psalms xvii. and xviii.

Of writings which are assigned to the first century,

<sup>1</sup> See Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu* (Leipzig, 1899), p. 199, 'The Similitudes of the book of Enoch (chaps. 37-71) whose Jewish character cannot be doubted, although it cannot be proved that they are the product of the pre-Christian period,' etc.

a group of three may be mentioned first, the Book of Jubilees, the Assumption of Moses, and <sup>First century</sup> the Book of Antiquities attributed to works.

Philo. The first and last have this in common that they are both 'Haggadic,' i.e. they embellish the O.T. with legendary matter; the first and second have been thought to have once formed a single work.

3. The *Book of Jubilees*, or 'the little Genesis' (Leptogenesis, i.e. Genesis detailed), or, as it is sometimes called, 'the Apocalypse of Moses,' is a curious work, in which the narrative of Genesis is told with the addition of a great deal of legendary matter. The whole narrative is apportioned out into a systematic arrangement of years, weeks of years, and jubilees. The faults of the Patriarchs are omitted or excused; great stress is laid on the importance of Jewish ordinances<sup>1</sup> (circumcision, the keeping of the Sabbath, etc.) and Jewish feasts, which are by an anachronism represented as being observed from the earliest times. The date is almost certainly about 50 A.D., for (1) the book comes between the Book of Enoch, to which it refers, and the Testaments of the twelve Patriarchs which make use of it; and (2) the Temple appears to be still standing (49. 16, 'And they shall not eat the Passover outside the sanctuary of the Lord, but before the sanctuary,' etc.). The woes depicted in the great eschatological passage (chap. 23) rather suggest the troubles which preceded the fall of Jerusalem. The author is aware of a great falling away and neglect of the ordinances which are of eternal significance, and for which there is 'no end of days,' and writes with the purpose of checking this apostasy. It is by no means

<sup>1</sup> See the quotation on circumcision on p. 246.



improbable that the apostates alluded to are the early Christians; in that case the book has the great interest of being a Jewish attempt to stem the rapid advances which Christianity was making.<sup>1</sup> The value of the work as an illustration of Jewish thought in St. Paul's day is enhanced by the fact that the writer, who must have been a highly cultivated and intensely patriotic Jew, appears to betray closer leanings to Pharisaism than to any other of the Jewish sects.<sup>2</sup> The book exists in Ethiopic, and there are fragments of a Latin version.

4. The *Assumption of Moses* exists in a fragmentary form in a 6th century Latin MS. at Milan. As with other of these apocryphal works, the original was probably written in Hebrew, between which and the existing Latin there was an intermediate Greek version. In many ways it resembles the *Book of Jubilees*. Jubilees takes the form of a revelation made by an angel to Moses on Sinai, carrying the history from the creation of the world down to the entrance into Canaan: the fragment of the Assumption ('Testament of Moses' would better describe it) is a revelation made by Moses to Joshua of the history onwards from the entrance into Canaan—the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, the captivity and return, the times of the Maccabees<sup>3</sup>—down to a period a little after the death of Herod the Great. 'The insolent king not of the race of the priests' (6. 2) is certainly Herod: the invasion of 'a powerful king

<sup>1</sup> See art. Jubilees in Hastings' *B.D.*, vol. ii.

<sup>2</sup> Roensch, § 16. 'If he belonged to any sect, it was the Pharisaic.'

<sup>3</sup> Chaps. viii. and ix. have been misplaced, and should be inserted after chap. v. They certainly refer to Maccabean times; the name Taxo, which was long a puzzle to critics, has been ingeniously explained beyond a doubt by Mr. F. C. Burkitt as a veiled form of Eleazar. (Note in *Camb. Univ. Reporter* for 14 June, 1898.)

of the west' (6. 8) refers to the suppression of a Jewish revolt by Varus in 4 B.C. Of Herod it is said that 'he will beget children, who, succeeding him, will rule for shorter periods' (6. 7). But this was true only of Archelaus (who was deposed after a reign of 10 years): Philip and Antipas reigned longer than their father. It appears, therefore, almost certain that the book was written before 34 years had elapsed from the death of Herod, i.e. before 30 A.D. The evil men who shall rule in the last days, saying that they are just (chap. 7) may refer to the Sadducees (Charles). The author is considered by Charles to have been a Pharisaic Quietist: 'the book forms a noble but ineffectual protest against the zealous spirit of that party.' The lost concluding portion of the book (which must have described the Assumption of Moses) is, if Origen may be trusted, referred to in Jude 9, and there are other slighter indications of the use of the book in the N.T. What is the exact relation existing between the Assumption and Jubilees has not yet been determined; the evidence at present hardly seems to warrant the theory that they once formed a single book.

5. *Pseudo-Philo, the Book of Biblical Antiquities*. The existence and importance of this work has only recently been brought to light by Dr. Cohn,<sup>1</sup> although it was published as long ago as 1527. It then appeared in an edition of Philo's works printed at Basle, under the heading 'Philonis Judaei Alexandrini libri Antiquitatum': it was reprinted in the collection of writings entitled *Mikropresbutikon* (Basle, 1550), but has subsequently dropped out of editions of Philo. It has nothing to do with Philo, but is an Haggadic com-

<sup>1</sup> *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1898, pp. 272-332.



mentary on the historical books of the O.T. from the earliest times down to the death of Saul, very similar to the *Book of Jubilees* in many ways, but without the intense patriotism and hatred of the enemies of Israel displayed in that work. The existing Latin appears to be derived through a Greek version from an original Hebrew. It is a purely Jewish work, from which 'Christian elements are entirely absent' (Cohn, 313). As to the date, it is later than 70 A.D., for (1) there is an absence of references to the Temple and its services, and (2) the date of the destruction of Solomon's Temple is given as the 'seventeenth day of the fourth month' (Tammuz), which we know from the Talmud was the date of the taking of Jerusalem by Titus, whereas the capture by the Babylonians was on the 9th Tammuz. It cannot, however, have been written much later than 70, for otherwise it would not have been translated and adopted as it was by the Christian Church; and the extant Latin version bears marks of being a very early translation (*ibid.* 327).

To the last quarter of the 1st century should probably be assigned two sister apocalypses, written at a time of deepest disaster for Judaism, when the destruction of Jerusalem was a recent event of momentous significance. Although slightly later than St. Paul, these two books in their wide survey of the divine ordering of the world, offer the largest field of illustration for the Pauline Epistles. They are the *2nd Book of Esdras* (or 4 Ezra) and the *Apocalypse of Baruch*. They deal with the same topics—the origin of sin and its connexion with death, works and faith, predestination, the resurrection and future life—and there is clearly a close connexion between them. There is a strong

probability that Esdras is the earlier of the two, and that the Baruch Apocalypse has drawn upon and corrected certain ideas in that book.<sup>1</sup>

6. *2nd Esdras*. The first two and the last two chapters (i.-ii., xv.-xvi.) are Christian additions to the main work. The date assigned to the body of the work is determined by the Eagle Vision in chaps. xii. and xiii., from which, according to the most probable interpretation, it appears that the writer lived in the age of Domitian. Recently an attempt has been made to show that the main portion of the work is also of a composite character, and is made up of a combination of a Salathiel Apocalypse (100 A.D., written at Rome), with an Esdras Apocalypse (*circa* 31 B.C.),<sup>2</sup> to which other visions, ranging in date from 60 B.C. to 100 A.D., have been added, the whole being edited by a redactor who belonged to the party of the Zealots about 120 A.D.<sup>3</sup> We are not here concerned to enter into a discussion of this question; the reasons given for this disintegration are not altogether convincing. In any case, with the exception of a single Christian interpolation, the insertion of the name Jesus in 7. 28 (only in the Latin, and absent from the Oriental versions), the work appears to be a genuine product of Judaism. It cannot, however, be denied that some of the views here expressed are not in entire agreement with Rabbinical doctrines, and there remains the possibility (which would detract from the usefulness of the work for our purpose) that the Jewish author (or authors) 'had been imbued to some extent by Christian teaching, probably

<sup>1</sup> See, for further details as to the dating of Esdras and its connexion with Baruch, art. 2 Esdras in Hastings' *B.D.*, vol. i.

<sup>2</sup> 3. 1 'ego Salathiel qui et Ezras.'

<sup>3</sup> Kabisch, *Das vierte Buch Esra*, 1889.



by Pauline,' and that the book is 'in fact a confession of the failure of Judaism.'<sup>1</sup>

7. The *Apocalypse of Baruch* represents more nearly the ordinary Judaism of the first century. That its date falls after the destruction of Jerusalem is shown by 32. 2-4, where that event is referred to; Baruch prophesies that the Temple will be destroyed (*i.e.* by Nebuchadnezzar) and then rebuilt, 'but that building will not remain, but will again after a time be rooted out [by Titus], and will remain desolate until the time; and afterwards it must be renewed in glory, and it will be perfected for evermore.' The latest editor of the work, Mr. Charles, following a suggestion of Kabisch, has endeavoured to show that *Baruch* is a composite work, its component parts falling partly before and partly after 70 A.D.

Of later (second century) works of mixed origin we may here mention three, which from the undoubted Jewish element contained in them and their comparatively early date are not without value for our purpose.

8. The *Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs*. This work consists of a series of discourses in which each of the twelve sons of Jacob, after a short sketch of his life (with legendary additions), gives exhortations to his sons drawn from his personal experiences and adds predictions as to the future of the tribe. There are very strongly marked Jewish elements in it, and no less strongly marked Christian characteristics. In Test. Benj. 11 there is a panegyric upon St. Paul, and perhaps the earliest evidence for the canonicity

<sup>1</sup> Charles, *Apoc. of Baruch*, p. lxxi. The approximation to Pauline ideas in 8 (the Salathiel section) is noted by Kabisch, p. 143.

of the Acts and the Pauline Epistles. "And there shall arise from my tribe in after times one beloved of the Lord, hearing his voice upon earth, bringing the light of fresh knowledge to all the Gentiles, introducing the light of knowledge to Israel in salvation, and ravishing as a wolf from them, and giving to the synagogue of the Gentiles. And until the end of the ages he shall be among the synagogues of the Gentiles and among their rulers, as a musical melody in the mouth of all; and he shall be inscribed in holy books, both his work and his word." Scattered over the work there are frequent references to the incarnation, the sufferings, and the exaltation of Christ; the Christology is of a patripassian character. Of the Jewish elements may be mentioned the high place always assigned to the tribes of Judah and Levi. Critics have been divided as to whether the whole is the work of a second century Jewish Christian, or whether an original Jewish work has been subsequently revised and interpolated by a Christian. The evidence is strongly in favour of the latter theory. The book seems to have "undergone repeated revision and remodification," as Schürer says. Schnapp has traced a series of Jewish interpolations which preceded the Christian revision. It seems impossible to harmonize as the work of a single writer the heterogeneous elements in the book, and there are not wanting clear marks of interpolation where the connexion is lost. In Test. Levi 2-5 and 6 two visions are introduced quite out of place: here we seem to have a combination of the original Jewish work with another Jewish apocalyptic work, to which Christian glosses have then been superadded. In Test. Joseph





we have side by side two distinct accounts of Joseph's temptation. As to the date, we have on the one side the fact that the book of Jubilees (*circa* 50 A.D.) has been drawn upon, on the other that the Christian revision appears to have been known to Irenaeus. The work in its present form cannot therefore be later than the middle of the second century, and some of the Jewish portions will go back into the first.<sup>1</sup>

9. The *Ascension of Isaiah* is a clear case of the welding together of two separate writings, (1) a purely Jewish account of the martyrdom of Isaiah (chaps. i.-v.), and (2) a Christian account of a vision of Isaiah (vi.-xi.), sometimes found in a separate form; the whole has been edited and supplemented by a Christian editor. The Christian work, the *Ascension*, is, according to Dillmann, not later than the first decades of the second century.<sup>2</sup>

10. The *Apocalypse of Moses* is, in reality, an Adamic book, giving an account of the fall and the death of Adam and Eve as revealed to Moses. This work seems to deserve more attention than it has received; the Christian element is not strongly marked, and it undoubtedly contains a substratum of Jewish matter. Kabisch's opinion that it is "probably a pre-Christian Jewish book worked over by a Christian," appears to be well-founded.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See especially Schnapp, *Die Test. der Zwölf Patr.* (Halle, 1884) and Schürer, *H.J.P.* ii. 3. 114-123. Dr. Sinker (in his edition and his art. in the *Dict. Christ. Biog.*) maintains that the whole work was written by a Jewish Christian of the Nazarene sect at a date somewhere between late in the first century and the revolt of Bar Cochba.

<sup>2</sup> Dillmann, *Ascensio Isaiae aethiopice et latine* (Lips. 1877), p. xvi.; Schürer, ii. 3. 141-144.

<sup>3</sup> Kabisch, *Eschatol. des Paulus*, 156. The Greek is edited by Tischendorf in *Apocalypses Apocryphae* (Lips. 1866). An Armenian V.S. is translated by F. C. Conybeare in *J.Q.R.*, 1895, pp. 216-235.

## II. Rabbinic literature.

The present writer cannot claim to have made any independent study of this department of the literature. He owes his knowledge of it mainly to collective treatises on Rabbinic theology, such as the *Horae Hebraicae* of Schöttgen and J. Lightfoot, Eisenmenger *Entdecktes Judenthum*, Surenhusius *Βίβλος Καταλλαγῆς*, Hamburger *Real Encyclopädie des Judenthum*, Edersheim *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, Schürer's *History of the Jewish People*, and Weber's *Judische Theologie*. The last of these is certainly the most helpful and enlightening of any works on the subject which have been used; but it is not altogether free from the defect from which the older treatises suffer, a want of adequate discrimination between the dates of the several Rabbinic authorities quoted. The value of the Rabbinic literature is, as has been pointed out,<sup>1</sup> depreciated not only by the date (we possess nothing earlier than the second century), but by other considerations; (1) the early conflict between Judaism and the new Christian society, (2) the influence of the final destruction of the Jewish state, (3) the manifest signs of development of Messianic doctrine among Jews in the first century A.D. Still, if there was development in Rabbinic thought at this time, it is exceedingly improbable that the advance of ideas should have taken the same direction as Christianity. The phenomenon of a non-Christian Jew borrowing from Christian ideas—we have with hesitation admitted the possibility of this in the case of 2 Esdras—would be quite exceptional. If, therefore, we find ideas in Rabbinical writings of the second or third century

<sup>1</sup> Stanton, *The Jewish and Christian Messiah*, 30-37.



agreeing with Pauline ideas, we may unhesitatingly assert that these doctrines were in existence in Rabbinic circles in St. Paul's time, and that they have not found their way into Rabbinism through the teaching of St. Paul. The probability that identical ideas should have arisen independently in Christian and in Rabbinic circles is so slight that it may be left out of account.

The following are the principal Rabbinic authorities to be taken into account, with the dates assigned to them by Schürer and Weber<sup>1</sup>:

### 1. Talmudical Literature.

<sup>2</sup>The Mishna. 'The oldest codification of the traditional Jewish Law.' Edited at the end of the 2nd century. The composition is attributed to R. Judah ha Nasi (200 A.D.), but the final redaction was preceded by two earlier summaries of written documents. (S.)

Tosephta, end of 4th century. An expansion of the Mishna, but the redactors had access to some sources which are older than our Mishna. (S.)

Jerusalem Talmud. 4th century.

Babylonian Talmud. 5th-6th centuries.

### 2. Midrashim, or Biblical Commentaries.

<sup>3</sup> $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Mecilta,} \\ \text{Siphra,} \\ \text{Siphre,} \end{array} \right\}$  on Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy.

"In their original form they date back to the 2nd century after Christ, but were revised and altered in later times." (S.)

"First half of 2nd century." (W.)

<sup>1</sup> See Schürer, *H.J.P.* i. i. 117-166: Weher, xv.-xxxv.

<sup>2</sup> Latin translation by Surenhusius, 6 vols., Amsterdam, 1698.

<sup>3</sup> Accessible in Latin translation in *Ugolini Thesaurus Antiq. Sacr.* Vols. xiv., xv.

The earliest commentary on Genesis, Bereschith Rabba, is not earlier than the 6th century.

### 3. The Targums, or Aramaic paraphrases of the O.T.

<sup>1</sup>Onkelos on the Pentateuch. Produced in the 3rd-4th centuries at Babylon, but based on earlier works. (S.) Second half of the 1st century. (W.)

Jonathan on the Prophets. 3rd-4th centuries, but based on earlier works. (S.) Last decades of 1st century. (W.)

<sup>1</sup>Jerusalmi I. and Jerusalmi II. on the Pentateuch. 7th-8th centuries.

### III. Alexandrian literature.

Under this head the principal works are the *Wisdom of Solomon*, which probably falls between 150-50 B.C., and, as we shall see, was certainly known to and used by St. Paul, and the writings of Philo which belong to the first half of the first century of our era. Another book belonging to the apocryphal or pseudepigraphic class, the *Secrets of Enoch*, extant in a Slavonic version, also appears to emanate from Alexandria, and, according to its editor, Mr. Charles, the author was a contemporary of Philo. Some not uninteresting parallels to Paulinism appear in this work.

With regard to St. Paul, while the traces of Rabbinism are to be found in the greatest abundance in the four main Epistles, the writer has not confined himself, as is done by Heiderer and other German critics, to four or, at most, six of the Pauline Epistles (including Philippians and 1 Thessalonians), but has made free use of all the thirteen Epistles as sources of

<sup>1</sup> The English translation by Etheridge (1862) has been used.



Pauline thought. Since the appearance of Harnack's volume on the chronology of early Christian literature, he can claim the support in so doing not only of the leading N.T. critics of this country, but also of the most prominent representative of N.T. criticism in Germany.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Harnack, *Die Chronologie der Altchrist. Litt. bis Eusebius* (1897), esp. pp. 238-9.

## CHAPTER II.

### SIN AND ADAM.

It is not easy to select an appropriate order of subjects or to find a connecting link to bind together those elements in St. Paul's teaching where indications of Jewish influence are most prominent. But the subject here selected—the fall of Adam and its results—may well occupy the first place in this discussion. It is proposed to bring together in this chapter some observations on (1) the results of Adam's fall as conceived by St. Paul and Jewish writers, (2) the genesis of the contrast between the first and the second Adam, (3) alleged allusions on the part of St. Paul to Rabbinical traditions with regard to the fall of man. The second of these subjects belongs rather to the department of Christology, but as it is closely bound up with the first in St. Paul's treatment of it, it may for convenience be taken in connexion with this Adam section.

In the Epistle to the Romans St. Paul treats of sin from three points of view. In the earlier chapters (1-3) he emphasizes the fact, which experience has proved, of the universality of sin: in the fifth chapter he traces the origin of sin and its penalty, death, to



Adam: in the seventh chapter he traces it to the inherent weakness of the flesh. It is possible to combine the last two views by supposing that the weakness of the flesh was due to the taint imparted to it by Adam's fall. It is the second of these passages with which we are here concerned.

#### I. Results of Adam's fall in St. Paul and in Jewish writings.

The cardinal passage on this subject is R. 5. 12-14, 'Therefore, as through one man sin entered into the world and death through sin, and so death passed unto all men, for that all sinned (ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἡμαρτον):—for until (the) law sin was in the world, but sin is not imputed where there is no law. Nevertheless death reigned from Adam until Moses, even over them that had not sinned after the likeness of Adam's transgression, who is a figure of him that was to come.' St. Paul is here instituting a comparison between the baneful results of Adam's fall and the beneficial results of the death of Christ, which is continued to the end of the chapter. He makes three statements with regard to Adam's fall: (a) it brought death into the world, (b) it brought sin into the world, and yet (c) the responsibility of the individual remains. As is pointed out in Sanday and Headlam's *Commentary*,<sup>1</sup> each of these statements receive illustration from Jewish sources.

St. Paul is not here concerned to explain how it was that certain results were transmitted from Adam to his (a) Adam and posterity. He does not attempt to enter death. upon a discussion of the mysterious origin of sin and death. He merely takes certain accredited

<sup>1</sup> pp. 136-138. Cf. also Canon Gore's treatment of the subject in his *Lectures on the Romans*, vol. i.

views of the time as the starting-point of his contrast between Adam and Christ. What he does teach is the unity of the race as descended from Adam (cf. Acts 17. 26, ἐποίησέν τε ἐξ ἑνὸς πάν ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων), that death came into the world as the consequence of sin, and that Adam's sin in some unexplained way, either by the example set or by an enfeebling of human nature, transmitted a *tendency* to sin to his descendants.

The transmitted effects of Adam's fall, it must be noted, are not mentioned in the narrative of Genesis. Misery and death are there the sentence pronounced upon Adam and Eve alone. And this transmission does not meet us until we come down to the apocryphal books written shortly before or about the time of St. Paul. The connexion of Adam's sin with the introduction of death is that which is most widely attested. It is also the point on which St. Paul appears to lay the chief emphasis here, and which he repeats in 1 C. 15. 21-22 ('By man came death . . . in Adam all die'), and may therefore be treated first, although in the order of time which St. Paul follows the introduction of sin into the world was prior to the coming of death.

We first meet with it in Wisdom 2. 23 f. ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς ἔκτισεν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπ' ἀφθαρσίᾳ, καὶ εἰκόνα τῆς ἰδίας ιδιότητος ἐποίησεν αὐτόν· φθόνῳ δὲ διαβόλου θάνατος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον, πειράζουσιν δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ τῆς ἐκείνου μερίδος ὄντες. We notice here the occurrence of St. Paul's phrase, 'death (regarded as a tyrannical power) entered into the world,' which occurs also in Rabbinical writings (Erubin 18 b 'when Adam saw that through him death entered into the world he sat





130 years fasting separated from his wife'),<sup>1</sup> and appears therefore to have been an established phrase in this connexion, taken over by the Apostle. Again we notice that although the mortality of the human race is spoken of as due to Adam's sin (or the devil's envy), yet, just as in St. Paul, there is the implication that it is due also to the sins of the individual, who ranges himself on the side of Satan.

We find the same doctrine in another apocryphal book, Ecclesiasticus 25. 24, ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἀρχὴ ἁμαρτίας, καὶ δι' αὐτὴν ἀποθνήσκουμεν πάντες. The first clause need not mean more than 'woman was the first to sin': but the second unmistakably teaches the doctrine of the transmission of death to Eve's descendants. It occurs in Pseudo-Philo, the Book of Antiquities,<sup>2</sup> "Ille autem transgressus est vias meas et suusus est de muliere sua et haec seducta est de colubro. Et tunc constituta est mors in generationes hominum." In 2 Esdras and the Apocalypse of Baruch the idea is abundantly attested. 2 Es. 3. 7, "Et huic mandasti diligentiam unam tuam, et praeterivit eam, et statim instituisti in eum mortem et in nationibus ejus." Bar. 17. 3, 'Therefore the multitude of time that he lived did not profit him, but brought death, and cut off the years of those who were born from him': 23. 4, 'When Adam sinned, and death was decreed against those who should be born.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Weber, 247.

<sup>2</sup> Mikropresbutikon, p. 305.

<sup>3</sup> In some parts of this book the view seems to be taken that man was not originally created immortal, and that Adam's sin only brought premature death upon himself and his descendants. 54. 15, 'Though Adam first sinned and brought untimely death upon all'; 56. 6, 'For owing to his transgression untimely death came into being.' Still it is possible that 'untimely' is here nothing more than a standing epithet for death, and does not imply that man was originally created mortal.

The Rabbinic views on the subject are summarised by Weber.<sup>1</sup> By some Rabbis death was regarded as due solely to natural causes, that is, it followed as the inevitable consequence of the eating of the forbidden fruit, by others it was regarded as fore-ordained by God; but the prevailing view was that it was the penalty inflicted by God for sin. But here a difficulty arose. The Rabbis held that Adam's sin was "not the sin of the race, but his own sin. Man is not made a sinner on the ground of his descent from Adam, but merely through his own act. How, when the sin is not transmitted to the race, can its punishment be transmitted? If sin and guilt is not inherited, can its punishment be transmitted? But, as a matter of fact, the human race is subjected to death. Death and the Angel of Death have, through Adam, in reality become active in the world. The realities of life appear therefore to be in inexplicable opposition to the righteousness of God."<sup>2</sup> The explanation offered was that though death since Adam reigns generally throughout the world, yet it only gains power over the individual on account of his own sin. The Rabbis pointed to the fact that some few, such as Enoch and Elias, did not taste of death, and maintained that the righteous who died did so in a different manner from the unrighteous; they were not killed by the angel of death, but the kiss of God removed their souls without pain from their bodies.

This view is quite in harmony with St. Paul's phrase, 'And so (i.e. because of Adam's sin) death passed unto all men, for that all sinned' (ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον). The ἐφ' ᾧ undoubtedly means 'because,'

<sup>1</sup> 247-251.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 249.



the meaning which it has elsewhere in St. Paul. That it cannot mean 'in Adam' is shown by the preposition used, ἐπὶ not ἐν, and by the distance of the φ from the antecedent to which it would in that case refer. Thus a twofold reason appears to be given for man's mortality, his connexion with Adam and the fact of the sin of the individual. To explain the antinomy does not form part of St. Paul's purpose. The force of verses 13 and 14 is this. We find that the Patriarchs between Adam and Moses died, even though they had not transgressed a direct command as he had. Death is the penalty of sin, and the consciousness of sin is only awakened by law. During all that period there was no law. The death of the pre-Mosaic patriarchs, then, can only be explained by the fact that Adam's sin transmitted its effects to his descendants. Still they too must be included in the πάντες of verse 12: they too must have been guilty of personal, although unconscious sin, before death could obtain a mastery over them.

The first passage where the doctrine of original sin may be hinted at is the passage of Ecclesiasticus (b) Adam and already quoted (25. 24): ἀπὸ γυναικὸς sin. ἄρχῃ ἁμαρτίας καὶ δι' αὐτὴν ἀποθνήσκουσιν πάντες. We cannot be sure that the first clause means more than that a woman was the first to sin, but the parallelism of the clauses seems to indicate that woman is regarded as the cause and not merely the first example of the sin of the world.

The two kindred works, Esdras and Baruch, are in direct opposition on this point. While the first clearly traces the sin of the world to its connexion with

Adam, the second as positively affirms the responsibility of the individual.

The Esdras passages are 3. 20-22: 'And yet tookest thou not away from them their evil heart, that thy law might bring forth fruit in them. For the first Adam bearing a wicked heart transgressed and was overcome: and not he only but all they also who are born of him. Thus disease was made permanent; and the law was in the heart of the people along with the wickedness of the root; so the good departed away and that which was wicked abode still.' 4. 30, 31: 'For a grain of evil seed was sown in the heart of Adam from the beginning, and how much wickedness hath it brought forth unto this time! and how much shall it yet bring forth until the time of threshing come! Ponder now by thyself how great fruit of wickedness a grain of evil seed hath brought forth.' 7. 118: 'O thou Adam what hast thou done? for though it was thou that sinned, the evil is not fallen on thee alone but upon all of us that come of thee.'

The occurrence of the phrases *cor malignum*, *granum seminis mali*, brings us into contact with Rabbinic teaching on original sin. According to this there was created in Adam from the first, along with an impulse to good an evil seed, or an impulse to sin (יצר הרע, Gen. 6. 5, 8. 21), which, however, did not come into full activity until after the fall; before that time it slumbered.<sup>1</sup> The fall altered man's relation to God, and made righteous action on his part much more difficult. 'The evil impulse became man's master, which he can only resist by the greatest efforts: before the

<sup>1</sup> Weber, 213.



fall it had power over him, but no such overwhelming ascendancy.<sup>1</sup> In the passage of the Romans which we have been considering St. Paul says nothing of the existence of this dormant or latent evil impulse before the fall; but in the seventh chapter of this Epistle there is some indication that the idea was not unknown to him. The 'law of sin in the members' (*νόμος τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν*) in R. 7. 23 is not unlike the idea of the 'evil impulse,' and in the same chapter we have the metaphor of sin springing into life when the commandment came (*ἡ ἀμαρτία ἀνέζησεν*, R. 7. 9). In verse 11 the occurrence of *ἐξηπάτησεν* shows that St. Paul has the story of the Fall in mind, and there seems to be no reason for disconnecting the two accounts of the origin of sin's influence over man given in the fifth and the seventh chapters of this Epistle. Pfeiderer<sup>2</sup> combines the two accounts, and finds in the *νόμος τῆς ἀμαρτίας* an approach to the doctrine of the evil seed, and from verse 9, which describes the happy life of the individual before the awakening of sin to life taken in connexion with the allusion to the Fall in *ἐξηπάτησεν*, argues that 'Paul regarded the fall of our first parents in the same light as the Jewish theologians of his time, that is not according to the Augustinian doctrine as a fall from absolute perfection into its opposite, but as a fall from a state of child-like innocence, neither good nor bad, in which the evil impulse still slumbered, into a condition where this became lively, active, and overmastering.'<sup>3</sup> But whether we are right or not in finding a reflexion of the Rabbinical idea of an 'evil impulse' in the 'law of sin in the members,' and generally in combining the statements in Rom.

<sup>1</sup> Weber, 224.<sup>2</sup> *Paulinismus*<sup>2</sup>, 57 ff.<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 59.

5 and 7, it is clear that St. Paul does not profess to discuss the origin of sin or the existence of the evil impulse before the fall. He has adopted the language of his time without discussing the problems which it suggests. It is also clear that according to what seems to be the correct interpretation of the difficult words *ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον*, he does not say that all men shared in the sin of Adam, or that Adam's sin produced a total depravity of human nature. Even after taking into account his statement that 'through the disobedience of the one the many were constituted sinners' (R. 5. 19), the utmost he appears to teach is that human nature owing to Adam's sin inherited a certain moral corruption and *liability* to sin. And this appears to have been the extent to which the doctrine of original sin was taught in the majority of the Rabbinical writings.

The doctrine of man's responsibility which St. Paul brings before us in the words which we have quoted so often *ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον*, is, as we have <sup>(c) Man's</sup> remarked, emphasized in the Apocalypse of <sup>responsibility.</sup> Baruch, where such stress is laid upon it that there is good reason to suppose that the writer is combating the opposite view as laid down in 2 Esdras. The passage in question is Bar. 54. 15, 19, 'For though Adam first sinned and brought untimely death upon all, yet of those who were born from him each one of them has prepared for his own soul torment to come, and again each one of them has chosen for himself glories to come. . . . Adam is therefore not the cause, save only of his own soul, but *each one of us has been the Adam of his own soul.*' But 2 Esd. also implies



man's responsibility. Immediately after stating that 'Adam transgressed and was overcome and all who were born from him, and the disease was made permanent,' the writer adds that 'they that inhabited the city [of David] did evil, in all things doing as Adam and all his generations had done: for they also bare (or used, *i.e.* gave way to) an evil heart,'<sup>1</sup> where there seems to be the same juxtaposition of inherited weakness and freedom of choice as in St. Paul; the freedom of choice is definitely mentioned in 9. 11, 'As many as have scorned my law while they had yet liberty.' The Talmudic teaching is summed up by Weber<sup>2</sup>: 'Free will remained to man after the fall. There is such a thing as transmission of guilt, but not a transmission of sin (*es gibt eine Erbschuld, aber keine Erbsünde*); the fall of Adam occasioned death to the whole race, but not sinfulness in the sense of a necessity to sin. Sin is the result of the decision of each individual; as experience shows it is universal, but in itself even after the fall it was not absolutely necessary.'

We find then that there was an antinomy or inconsistency in Jewish teaching on the subject of man's inherited tendency to sin and his individual responsibility. Sometimes one side of the teaching is more emphasized than the other, but no successful attempt is made to reconcile the two sides of the question. And the same juxtaposition of opposite ideas 'through the disobedience of the one the many were made sinners'—'death passed upon all, for that all sinned' reappears in St. Paul. His tendency to hold views which appear to be incon-

<sup>1</sup> 2 Es. 3. 21-26.<sup>2</sup> pp. 224-5.

sistent may have been the outcome of his Pharisaic training.<sup>1</sup>

According to Jewish ideas the effects of Adam's fall were not confined to man, but extended to the irrational world—to animate and inanimate nature. The whole world was put out of its proper course; but the losses then sustained were to be made good in a future age. Traces of these ideas are seen in Rom. 8. 18-23, 'Creation (*ἡ κτίσις* in the widest sense, it is contrasted with *τὰ τέκνα τοῦ θεοῦ*) was subjected to vanity' when Adam fell, it had its energies frustrated, it groans and travails in concert with man; but earnestly looks forward to the revelation of the Sons of God, when it too shall be liberated from corruption. To understand the 'vanity' to which nature was subjected, we must recall the Jewish enlargements upon the curses pronounced on the earth in Genesis 3. Adam, it was said, underwent six losses when he fell: he lost the glory on his face, life, his superhuman stature, the fruits of the ground, the fruits of trees, and the brightness of the lights of heaven; but these losses will be made good to man in the Messianic age. Even the course of the planets was altered and retarded.<sup>2</sup> The idea of a renovation of nature meets us very frequently in Jewish writings, and is the root-idea of such expressions as 'seasons of refreshing,' 'the times of the restoration of all things,' in Acts 3. 19-21. Messiah

<sup>1</sup> Cf. his treatment of the subject of predestination in Rom. ix., where God's omnipotence is emphasized in language which is hard to reconcile with St. Paul's teaching elsewhere on man's freewill. The Pharisees, according to Josephus (*B. J.*, ii. 8. 14), similarly taught that everything depends on God and fate, and yet maintained that man's will was free.

<sup>2</sup> Weber, 222 ff., 381, 398.





was to be revealed with those who are his ('the children of God' in St. Paul), and to liberate or renovate creation. It will be sufficient to refer to 2 Esd. 7. 75, 'donec veniant tempora illa in quibus incipies creaturam renovare'; 13. 26-29, 'ipse est quem conservat altissimus multis temporibus qui per semetipsum liberabit creaturam suam . . . ecce dies veniunt, quando incipiet altissimus liberare eos qui super terram sunt.' Similar accounts of the transformation of earth meet us in the Book of Enoch (45. 5, and 51. 4), and elsewhere. St. Paul spiritualizes these material conceptions of a glorified earth, and shows a wider sympathy than Jewish writers. They generally picture an earth renovated for the sake of Israel alone: he sympathizes with nature itself, and looks forward to a truly universal regeneration in which inanimate nature will have its share.<sup>1</sup>

## II. The First and the Second Adam.

In three passages (R. 5. 12-21, 1 C. 15. 20-22, 15. 44-49) St. Paul works out a parallel, or as it should rather be called, an antithesis, between Adam and Christ. In the first of these, as we have seen, he contrasts the wide-reaching effects of the single transgression of the first man with the still more far-reaching effects of 'the one righteous act' of his antitype. The parallel which he had begun to draw out in verse 12 (*ὥσπερ δι' ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου*) is in the rapid transition of his thoughts not completed, but the meaning is clear: through the first man sin came into the world, and death through sin, through Christ

<sup>1</sup> See especially S.-H., *Romans*, 210 ff. and notes in loc.

righteousness came into the world and life through righteousness. And so Adam is a figure or type (*τύπος*) of Him Who was to come. In the second passage the same contrast appears between Adam the bringer of death and Christ the bringer of life. The thought of Christ as a second Adam or second representative of humanity which is latent in both these passages (*ὥσπερ δι' ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου . . . δι' ἀνθρώπου ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν*) receives definite expression in the third passage, where Christ is spoken of as 'the last Adam' or 'the second man.'

The question with which we are here concerned is to discover whether this phrase 'the second Adam' was one in common use in Jewish circles in the time of St. Paul as applied to the Messiah, or, if not the phrase, whether the idea at least of an antithesis between Adam and the Messiah, each being the head of a line of descendants and each exercising a powerful influence on his posterity, was current at the time; or, on the other hand, whether the name and the antithesis are wholly original to St. Paul, who is quite independent of existing Jewish ideas.

Now, it has hitherto been assumed by nearly all commentators that St. Paul, in describing Christ as the second Adam, was using a common Rabbinic title for the Messiah. Thus, Stanley (1 *Corinthians*, p. 316) speaks of 'the already existing Rabbinical doctrine that Christ was the second Adam': Sanday and Headlam (*Romans*, p. 136) speak of 'the Rabbinical designation of the Messiah as *ὁ δεύτερος* or *ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδάμ*.' It has, however, been recently shown in two articles which have appeared independently on this subject, one in

Rabbinic use  
of phrases  
'first' and  
'second  
Adam.'



America, the other in Germany,<sup>1</sup> that this assumption rests on a very slender foundation. The ordinary interpretation is based on certain Rabbinic passages quoted by Schöttgen in his *Horae Hebraicae*, and by Meuschen (*N.T. ex Talm. ill.*, 1736). But the passages to which they refer are mediaeval and influenced by the Kabbala. The most striking of these occur in a treatise called *Neve Schalom*, in which we find the following words (quoted from Moore's translation from the Venice edition of 1575, ix. 5, fol. 166 b): 'The heifer which the Messiah will offer will be an atonement for sin universally, to do away transgression and put an end to the sin of the human race. As the first Adam was first in sin, so the Messiah shall be the last (*sc.* Adam) to remove sin utterly' (*cf.* Rom. 5); again, in ix. 8: 'The last Adam (or man) is the Messiah [האדם האחרון הוא המשיח], as it is said, He shall be higher than Moses.' Now, these striking parallels to St. Paul lose all claim to originality when we recall the date of the work in which they occur. *Neve Schalom* is the work of a Spanish Jew of the end of the fifteenth century 'dealing with a wide range of questions, in which Aristotle and the Cabala and Christian controversy jostle each other,' a work which 'is not only separated from N.T. times by fourteen centuries, in which Jewish thought had been not less active than Christian, but does not pretend to represent Jewish tradition.'

It is true that the phrase 'the first Adam' [אדם הראשון] is exceedingly common about the time when

<sup>1</sup> G. F. Moore, in the *Journal of Bibl. Literature*, vol. xvi., 1897 (Boston, Mass.), 158-161. Schiele in *Zeits. f. Wiss. Theologie*, 1899. 'Die Rabbinischen Parallelen zu 1 C. 15. 45-50.'

St. Paul wrote. But it signifies nothing more than Adam the first man in opposition to all later men; it does not imply any contrast to an 'Adamus postremus.' It merely distinguishes אדם as a proper name from the indefinite אדם, 'a man'; the fact that the word was an appellative as well as a proper name accounts for the tendency to insert 'the first.' The following instances, adduced by Wetstein, are clearly of this character: Targ. in Ps. 69, 'placebit oratio mea magis quam bos pinguis et electus quem offerebat Adam primus'; Jos. Ant. i. 3. 3, χρόνος δὲ οὗτος ἀπὸ 'Αδάμου τοῦ πρώτου γεγονότος ἐτῶν ὑπῆρχε, κ.τ.λ.; Ant. viii. 3. 1, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ πρώτου γεννηθέντος 'Αδάμου, κ.τ.λ.; so also 2 Es. 3. 21, 'cor enim malignum baiolans primus Adam transgressus et victus est.' But a corresponding phrase, 'the last Adam,' is, according to Rabbinic scholars, absent from the whole range of early and mediaeval Rabbinic literature till we come down to the work *Neve Schalom*. So far, it appears that we have no sufficient evidence to prove that St. Paul owed the expression to his Rabbinical training; although the thought of Christ as the second head of humanity may have been suggested to him by the common use of the phrase 'the first Adam.'

The *idea* of an antithesis between Adam and the Messiah, however, it may be noted, occurs in the earliest midrash on Genesis (sixth century) *Bereschith Rabba* 12, where 'it is said that the Messiah (the son of Perez) will restore the six things which Adam lost by the Fall (see p. 39).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It may, however, be noted that an early name for the Messiah was 'the second deliverer' (נִשְׁמָל אֲדִינוּן), as opposed to Moses the first deliverer, *Ber. Rab.* 85 ap. Weber, 359. This antithesis of Moses and Christ probably arose out of Dent. 18. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Weber, 381.



Recent commentators, however, while admitting that there is no conclusive evidence for the designation of the Messiah as 'the second Adam,' or even for the idea in Palestinian circles in the time of St. Paul, are inclined to find the genesis of St. Paul's teaching in *Alexandrian* thought. Now, Philo had noticed the two accounts of man's creation in Genesis 1. 26-27 and 2. 7, which are now explained by the higher critics as due to the welding together of two distinct sources, and based on them a doctrine, in which Platonism played a part, of a heavenly and an earthly man—a heavenly or archetypal man first created in the image of God (1. 27), neither male nor female, not partaking of any earthly substance, and an earthly man, compounded of an earthly substance and a divine spirit, and differentiated as male and female (2. 7). The two passages where he expounds this doctrine are as follows:

*De leg. alleg.* i. 12, 13. Διττὰ ἀνθρώπων γένη· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν οὐράνιος ἄνθρωπος, ὁ δὲ γήϊνος. Ὁ μὲν οὖν οὐράνιος ἄτε κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ γεγονώς φθαρτῆς καὶ συνόλως γεώδους οὐσίας ἀμέτοχος· ὁ δὲ γήϊνος ἐκ σποράδος ὕλης, ἣν χοῦν κέκληκεν, ἐπάγη. Διὸ τὸν μὲν οὐράνιον φησὶν οὐ πέπλασθαι, κατ' εἰκόνα δὲ τετυπῶσθαι θεοῦ· τὸν δὲ γήϊνον πλάσμα ἀλλ' οὐ γέννημα εἶναι τοῦ τεχνιτοῦ.

*De mund. orif.* 46. Ἐναργέστατα καὶ διὰ τούτου [Gen. 2. 7] παρίστησιν ὅτι διαφορὰ παμμεγέθους ἐστὶ τοῦ τε νῦν πλασθέντος ἀνθρώπου καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα θεοῦ γεγονότος πρότερον. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ διαπλασθεὶς αἰσθητὸς ἤδη μετέχων ποιότητος, ἐκ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς συνεστώς, ἀνὴρ ἢ γυνή, φύσει θνητός· ὁ δὲ

κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα, ἰδέα τις ἢ γένος ἢ σφραγίς, νοητός, ἄσώματος, οὐτ' ἄρρεν οὔτε θῆλυ, ἀφθαρτος φύσει. τοῦ δὲ αἰσθητοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ μέρους ἀνθρώπου τὴν κατασκευὴν σύνθετον εἶναι φησὶν ἐκ τε γεώδους οὐσίας καὶ πνεύματος θείου, κ.τ.λ.

Elsewhere<sup>1</sup> he interprets the εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ to mean the λόγος, so that when man is said to have been created after the image of God the meaning is that the archetypal man was created in the likeness of the λόγος.

Is any connexion to be traced between this Philonic idea and the Pauline distinction between the first man who is of the earth earthy, and the second man from heaven? It will be well to quote St. Paul's actual words in 1 C. 15. 44 f. "If there is a natural body, there is also a spiritual (body). (45) So also it is written, The first man Adam became a living soul. The last Adam (became) a life-giving spirit. (46) Howbeit that is not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; then that which is spiritual. (47) The first man is of the earth earthy, the second man is of heaven. (48) As is the earthy, such are they also that are earthy: and as is the heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly. (49) And as we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly." The passage is admittedly one of the most difficult in St. Paul, and as yet it cannot be said that any definite conclusions have been reached as to the extent to which the Apostle is indebted to previous Jewish conceptions.

The prevailing view among German critics since the time of Baur has been that we here have a form of this doctrine of Philo, and that Christ is here

<sup>1</sup>The passages are quoted by Lightfoot on Col. 3. 10.



spoken of as the pre-existent heavenly man. The Alexandrian idea according to these writers is older than the Palestinian tradition of a first and a last Adam, which is only a variation (*nebenform*) of the other. This idea of an archetypal man, whose creation is described in Genesis 1, was then combined either by Paul himself or by Jewish writers before St. Paul with the doctrine of the pre-existence of the Messiah. Such is the view of Schiele,<sup>1</sup> following Holtzmann, Schmiedel, Siegfried, and others. The theory may be best expressed in the words of Somerville<sup>2</sup>: "In the application of these terms [the last Adam, the second man] to Christ, Paul it is alleged has clothed his Christology in the garb of Jewish thought. Reference is made to Philo, whose doctrines had at this time penetrated into the schools of the Rabbis and moulded their theology. After the manner of Plato's speculations, Philo distinguishes between an earthly and a heavenly man, the latter being the pre-existent idea, the former its imperfect realisation in the individual human being. The theology of the synagogue, combining this idea with the belief that widely prevailed that the Messiah existed in heaven until the time of His appearing on earth, conceived of the Christ to come as the heavenly man; and Paul, it is said, sharing this idea, transferred it to Christ, and taught that He existed as the heavenly man in a previous state before He was born into the world."

This view is open to much criticism. The following points may be noted. (1) The order in St. Paul is the

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> *St. Paul's Conception of Christ, or the Doctrine of the Second Adam* (Edinburgh, 1897), p. 51.

reverse of that in Philo: first the earthly, then the heavenly. Still the emphasis laid on this order (*ἀλλ' οὐ πρῶτον τὸ πνευματικόν*) seems to show that he is contradicting some well-known view in which, as in Philo, the higher or spiritual precedes the lower and earthly phase. Criticism of this view.

(2) But there is nothing to show that St. Paul has in mind the two accounts of the creation. Unless the word *εἰκὼν* in verse 49 can be taken to point to Gen. 1. 27, the language seems to be suggested wholly by Gen. 2. 7. The *πνεῦμα ζωοποιούν* one can hardly fail to connect with the *πνοὴ ζωῆς* of that verse; and the emphasis on the order may (though this is not probable) be due to the fact that he is transposing the order of the clauses in Gen. 2. 7, where the breathing of the *πνοὴ ζωῆς* into man comes before the statement *καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν*.<sup>1</sup>

(3) The passage Gen. 1. 27 is applied to Adam in 1 C. 11. 7, where there is no trace of the Philonic idea. On the other hand, it can hardly be doubted that the designation of Christ as *εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ . . . πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως* (Col. 1. 15) is based on that verse in Genesis.

(4) It is very doubtful whether the pre-existence of the Messiah was at this time a widely prevalent doctrine among the Jews.<sup>2</sup> The early Rabbinic doctrine seems merely to have taught an ideal, not a real, pre-existence of the Messiah, that is to say, He pre-existed in the sense that His coming had from eternity been divinely predestined and prepared. The pseudepigraphic writings do not really differ very considerably from this;

<sup>1</sup> See Stanley, *in loc.*

<sup>2</sup> See Weber, 355; Stanton, *Jewish and Christian Messiah*, 129-133.





the book of Enoch stands alone in apparently teaching a real pre-existence.<sup>1</sup> The use of the phrase 'the Anointed whom the Most High has reserved for the end' (2 Es. 12. 32, cf. 13. 26) expresses only the divine predestination of the Messiah. There was, however, as Prof. Stanton points out, a growing belief in the mysteriousness of His coming, and there were not wanting 'signs of a movement of thought which might in time lead to such a conception' as the real pre-existence.

(5) It is also very doubtful whether there is any reference in St. Paul's words *ἐξ οὐρανοῦ* to the pre-existence of Christ, or at any rate whether such reference exhausts the meaning of those words. It is true that *ἐξ οὐρανοῦ* answers to *ἐκ γῆς* in the first clause, and should therefore, if there is to be an exact correspondence between the members of the sentence, indicate the nature and origin of 'the second man.' But the earlier part of the chapter refers solely to the resurrection of Christ, and the primary reference must here also be to the spiritual body of Christ *Who is to come from heaven*.

Lastly, it is questionable whether Philo's speculations had already in St. Paul's time influenced Rabbinic theology, and whether St. Paul's language can be directly derived from him. Schiele considers that he is directly indebted to Greek thought, or if he owes anything to Gamaliel's training, he was one of those 500 scholars whom we are told that Gamaliel instructed in Greek wisdom.<sup>2</sup>

The passage is one in which the Jewish background

<sup>1</sup> See esp. xlviii. 1-6 (with Charles' note) and lxii. 7. The Messiah is there said to have been chosen and hidden and preserved, and His name to have been named, before the creation of the world.

<sup>2</sup> Sota, ix. 14. fol. 49 is the reference given by Schiele.

of the Apostle's thought at present remains in obscurity. The following statements may, however, be made. The evidence for the use of the term 'the second Adam' in Rabbinic circles in St. Paul's day or for an antithesis between Adam and the Messiah is lacking. We find, however, an antithesis in Philo between a heavenly and an earthly man in connexion with the passage (or passages) of Genesis to which St. Paul alludes. This opposition between a heavenly and an earthly man certainly emanates from Alexandria. There seems, in the opinion of the present writer, to be no improbability in supposing that the Alexandrian doctrine (whether originally created by Philo or worked out by him, as it may well have been, from earlier ideas of the Alexandrian school) had in some form or other, directly or indirectly, reached St. Paul, and is at the base of the language which he here uses. To attribute a further influence than this of Jewish thought upon the Apostle would be hazardous. The application of this Philonic language to Christ would appear to be a peculiarly Pauline idea,<sup>1</sup> and the working out of the conception of Christ as the Pattern and Archetypal man, 'the head of every man' (1 Cor. 11. 3), is entirely his own. The theory that St. Paul here conceives of Christ merely as the pre-existent heavenly *man* of Jewish theology, that he is represented as a Man and no more prior to his incarnation,—a view which finds no support in any other Pauline passages and is directly opposed to the Christology of the later Epistles—is most certainly to be rejected.

<sup>1</sup> We have, however, noted that Philo connects the heavenly man with the λόγος (p. 45).



### III. Alleged allusions in St. Paul to Rabbinic legends about the Fall.

In two passages in St. Paul an allusion has been traced to Jewish legends about the part played by Eve in the story of the Fall.

There was an early Rabbinic tradition that the temptation of Eve by the serpent took the form of a temptation to unchastity. While according to one account the motive of Satan in tempting man was envy of his power (cf. Wisdom 2. 24), a far commoner tradition represented it as lust for Eve. The following are the principal Rabbinic passages collected by Weber.<sup>1</sup> Sota 9 b, 'The serpent when he tempted Eve said, I will kill Adam and take Eve to wife'; Ber. rabba 18, 'when the serpent saw how they (Adam and Eve) lived as man and wife, then he lusted after Eve'; Ber. rabba 24, 'The demons during the first 130 years after the creation used to have intercourse with Adam and Eve and begat and gave birth to demons by them' (the story of the 'Watchers' in Gen. 6 is here transferred to Satan and his angels); according to Jalk. Schim. Beresch. 42 Cain was begotten by Satan of Eve.

None of these works, it is true, carry us back beyond the sixth century, but there are not wanting indications that the legend was current as early as the first century. The first of these occurs in the fourth book of Maccabees, 18. 7-8, in a passage where the mother of the seven brothers who were martyred by Antiochus is asserting her purity; ἐγὼ ἐγενήθην παρθένος ἀγνή, καὶ οὐκ ὑπερέβην πατρικὸν οἶκον· ἐφύλασσαν δὲ τὴν ᾠκοδομημένην πλευράν (cf. Gen. 2. 24)· οὐ διέφθειρέν με λυμεὼν τῆς

<sup>1</sup> 219.

ἐρμηίας φθορεὺς ἐν πεδίῳ· οὐδὲ ἐλυμήνατό μου τὰ ἀγνὰ τῆς παρθενίας λυμεὼν ἀπάτης ὄφης. There is here a clear allusion to the narrative of Genesis, showing that at the time when this passage was written the serpent was regarded as the seducer (in the more limited sense of the word) of the woman. Schürer<sup>1</sup> justly maintains that the acceptance of this book by the early church makes it impossible to attribute it to a later date than the first century.

Another early work, which, though it has probably been worked over by a Christian hand, is certainly based on Jewish materials, seems to allude to the same tradition. This is the so-called *Apocalypse of Moses*. The serpent is there represented as being sent by the devil, who speaks through its mouth, and being admitted through the wall of Paradise by Eve while Adam is in another part of the garden. After binding Eve by oath that she will give the fruit to her husband, he climbs the tree and places on the fruit 'the poison of his malice, that is of his lust (τῆς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτοῦ): for lust is the source of all sin. And I [Eve] bowed the branch to the earth and took of the fruit and did eat.' A little further on God addresses Eve, and says, 'Thou wilt make confession and say, Lord, Lord, save me, and I will not return again to the sin of the flesh.'<sup>2</sup> We seem to have here a variant form of the legend, in which Satan appears as the introducer of lust into the world. A resemblance to the first Rabbinic passage cited above is seen in the Slavonic *Secrets of Enoch*, a work which is considered by its editor to belong to the first half of the first century: 'And on this account

<sup>1</sup> *H.J.P.*, ii. 3. 246.

<sup>2</sup> Tischendorf, *Apoc. Apocryphae* (Leipzig, 1866), pp. 10, 14.



he [Satan] conceived designs against Adam; in such a manner he entered [into Paradise] and deceived Eve. But he did not touch Adam.'<sup>1</sup> We may agree, therefore, with Gfrörer in maintaining that 'the belief that Samael and his host tempted our first parents to unchastity and practised it with them is very old, and reaches right back into the times of Christ.'<sup>2</sup>

In the light of these passages, then, we turn to the two allusions made by St. Paul to the temptation of Eve. The first is 2 Cor. 11. 2-3, where the Apostle is excusing his boasting on the ground of his love for the Corinthian Church. 'For I am jealous over you with a jealousy of God, for I betrothed you to one husband to present you a pure virgin to Christ: but I fear lest by any means, as the serpent beguiled (ἐξηπάτησεν, Gen. 3. 13) Eve by his craftiness, your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity [and the purity] which is owing to Christ.' The thought which pervades this passage is that of conjugal loyalty and fidelity to one husband, and it is difficult to resist the conclusion to which Everling<sup>3</sup> comes in his able discussion of the passage, that the mention of Eve in this connexion in a clause introduced by ὥς, makes it necessary to understand the sin into which she was betrayed as similar to that into which the Corinthian Church is, figuratively speaking, in danger of falling, namely, unchastity and infidelity to her husband. The metaphor of the marriage of Christ and His Church is, it is true, met with elsewhere in St. Paul, notably in Eph. 5. 25-32; but

<sup>1</sup> Slav. Enoch, ed. Charles, § 31. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Jahrhundert des Heils* (Stuttgart, 1838), i. 398.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Paulinische Angelologie u. Dämonologie*, 51.57.

where, as in this passage of 2 Corinthians, an illustration from the O.T. is introduced, we do not expect to find that the language of both clauses is metaphorical: the illustration should rather bear out the use of the metaphor by a reference to a definite instance of conjugal infidelity. There can be no objection to this view of the passage on the ground that such an account of the Fall is unscriptural; the Apostle was well acquainted with the traditions of his race, and does not hesitate to refer to such legends as that of the rock which followed the Israelites through the desert. Allusions to such legends are commonly found in St. Paul where he is drawing an illustration from O.T. for some doctrine or institution of Christianity, no stress being laid on the truth of the legend, which is merely used by way of illustration.<sup>1</sup> There is, perhaps, some force in the objections of Heinrici,<sup>2</sup> who points out that the choice of expressions does not altogether bear out this allusion. St. Paul, he thinks, would have spoken, not of the πανουργία,<sup>3</sup> but of the ἐπιθυμία of the serpent, and the phrase φθαρῇ τὰ νοήματα need indicate no more than a soiling of the soul (*seelensbesudelung*) in the case of Eve. On the other hand, if we look a little further down in this section of the Epistle, we come upon another reference, which should apparently be taken in connexion with the verses of which we have been treating. The Judaizers, who wish to pervert the

<sup>1</sup> See chapter viii. *St. Paul the Haggadist*.

<sup>2</sup> *Meyer's Commentary*, in loc.

<sup>3</sup> Ἐν τῇ πανουργίᾳ αὐτοῦ is St. Paul's equivalent for φρονιμώτατος (Gen. 3. 1): cf. his quotation from Job 5. 13 in 1 C. 3. 19 ὁ δρασσόμενος τοὺς σοφοὺς ἐν τῇ πανουργίᾳ αὐτῶν (LXX ἐν τῇ φρονήσει). It is curious that *Targ. Jer. I.* on Gen. 3. 13 reads, 'The serpent beguiled me with his subtilty and deceived me with his wickedness, and I ate,' etc. Can St. Paul have had ἐν τῇ πανουργίᾳ αὐτοῦ in his text?



Corinthians, have just been likened to the serpent stealthily approaching to tempt Eve. In verses 13 to 15 we read, 'For such are false apostles, deceitful workers, fashioning themselves into apostles of Christ; and (it is) no wonder, for Satan himself fashioneth himself into an angel of light. It is no great thing, therefore, if his ministers also fashion themselves as ministers of righteousness.' We know that St. Paul followed the common view of his time (a view which, though it may appear a commonplace to us, is not found earlier than in Wisd. 2. 24) in identifying the serpent of Genesis with Satan (*e.g.* Rom. 16. 20); it therefore appears probable that he is still thinking of the temptation of Eve. Now, it is remarkable that we find a striking parallel to this μετασχηματισμός of Satan in a book to which we have already alluded, the *Apocalypse of Moses*. Eve is describing the story of the Fall to her children. After telling of Satan's counsel to the serpent she says, καὶ ἐκρεμάσθη (we should probably read ἐκρεμάσθην, 'I hung over') διὰ τῶν τειχέων τοῦ παραδείσου περὶ τὴν ὥραν ὅταν ἀνῆλθον οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ προσκυνῆσαι. τότε ὁ σατανᾶς ἐγένετο ἐν εἵδει ἀγγέλου καὶ ὕμνει τὸν θεὸν καθάπερ οἱ ἄγγελοι καὶ παρυκύνεσα ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ἴδον αὐτὸν ὅμοιον ἀγγέλου.<sup>1</sup> Then follows the story of the Fall which we have quoted above. It is quite possible that St. Paul had this or a similar account in mind. Elsewhere he speaks of Satan's power of tempting to incontinency (1 C. 7. 5), and in the well-known passage, 1 C. 11. 10, one reason given for the duty of women to wear a veil while praying or prophesying is 'because of the angels.' It

<sup>1</sup> Tischendorf, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

may be noted that this last passage, to which we shall recur elsewhere, follows immediately upon a reference to Adam and Eve. There are, then, in the opinion of the present writer, very strong grounds for presuming an acquaintance on the part of St. Paul with the Rabbinical legend in these opening verses of the 11th chapter of 2 Corinthians.

The other Pauline passage adduced, 1 Tim. 2. 13-15, if taken by itself, would not afford the same ground for attributing any apocryphal knowledge to (b) 1 Tim. 2. the Apostle; but admitting, as we do, the <sup>13-15</sup> authenticity of the Pastoral Epistles, it furnishes a valuable parallel to the former passage. The Apostle here gives two reasons for the duty of woman's obedience to man, the first being the same that he brings forward in 1 C. 11. 2-3, that Adam was the first to be created, the second being the fact that it was Eve and not Adam who was deceived. Καὶ Ἀδὰμ οὐκ ἠπατήθη, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἐξαπατηθεῖσα ἐν παραβάσει γέγονεν. σωθήσεται δὲ διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας, εὖν μείνωσιν ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ καὶ ἀγιασμῷ μετὰ σωφροσύνης. The question naturally arises, In what sense could it be said that Adam was not deceived? The words have generally been explained by the insertion of πρῶτος or ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄφους in the first clause, but this explanation of an ellipse is not very satisfactory. And so it is argued that the word ἀπατᾶν or ἐξαπατᾶν must be used in a sense which is inapplicable to Adam: and the sense which naturally suggests itself is that of 'to tempt to unchastity.' Instances of this special sense of the verb and the cognate noun occur,<sup>1</sup> and it is possible that the use

<sup>1</sup> For πατῆ, see Eph. 4. 22, κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς ἀπάτης; 2 P. 2. 13, ἐντροφῶντες ἐν ταῖς ἀπάταις αὐτῶν; for ἐξαπατᾶν, Herodotus





of the word in the LXX of Genesis originated or assisted the growth of the Rabbinical legend.

It must, however, be admitted that it is not necessary to resort to this secondary meaning to explain the Apostle's language in the present passage. Bengel's note gives a reasonable explanation: 'Serpens mulierem decepit: mulier virum non decepit sed ei persuasit (Gen. 3. 17 audisti vocem mulieris tuae). Versu praecedente docetur cur mulier non debeat auctoritate uti, nunc cur non debeat docere. Facilius decepta, facilius decipit.' St. Paul may, in fact, be laying stress, in the allegorical manner which he sometimes adopts, on a particular word, which in the narrative of Genesis is only applied to the woman, regardless of the fact that in reality the man was no less inexcusable than the woman.<sup>1</sup> Philo in the same way lays stress on the distinction between the words used of the man and of the woman: παρατήρει δ' ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ λέγει τὴν γυναῖκα δεδωκέναι, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ οὐχὶ τὸν ὄφιν δεδωκέναι, ἀλλὰ ἡπατηκέναι ἴδιον γὰρ αἰσθήσεως μὲν τὸ δίδόναι, ἡδονῆς δὲ τῆς ποικιλῆς καὶ ὀφιώδους τὸ ἀπατᾶν καὶ παρακρούεσθαι (*Leg. Alleg.* iii. 20). In *Quaest. in Gen.* i. 33 the question is raised, 'Quare mulierem alloquitur serpens, non vero virum?' and is answered by the fact of woman's weakness, 'mulier consuevit potius quam vir decipi.' The Slavonic *Enoch*, in the passage quoted above, likewise notes the immunity of Adam from temptation, 'he did not touch Adam.'

2. 114 ξείνου τοῦ ἐωντοῦ ἐξαπατήσας τὴν γυναῖκα, Dan. Suaannah θ' 56 τὸ κάλλος ἐξηπάτησέν σε καὶ ἐπιθυμία διέστρεψεν τὴν καρδίαν σου (only once again in LXX); for ἀπατᾶν, Ex. 22. 16, Judith 12. 16. In two other passages where St. Paul uses the compound ἐξαπατᾶν he has the story of the Fall in mind (R. 7. 11 and 16. 18, taken in conjunction with verse 20).

<sup>1</sup> So Holtzmann, *Die Pastoralbr.*, 1880, p. 315.

The added clause, σωθήσεται δὲ διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας, is used by Everling<sup>1</sup> in support of the reference to the legend: 'The sexual sin is turned in the N.T. into a means of mercy; by this same τεκνογονία, by which Satan wished to lead the woman into corruption, will she be saved if she continues in faith and love.' This inference does not appear to be warranted; the writer need have nothing more in mind than the sentence pronounced upon the woman in Gen. 3. 16, ἐν λύπαις τέξῃ τέκνα.

It is clear, at any rate, from the passages cited from Philo and Slavonic *Enoch*, that the immunity of Adam from temptation was a subject of discussion in Jewish circles in St. Paul's time. Taken by itself, the passage in 1 Timothy is perfectly intelligible without having recourse to apocryphal stories; but taken in connexion with the passage in 2 Corinthians, we may infer that the legend was known to the writer, and that ἐξαπατᾶν had for him in connexion with the Fall a special connotation, which, however, is not here brought prominently forward.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, 56.



## CHAPTER III.

## THE LAW.

ST. PAUL'S view of the law shows the most radical revolt from the Judaism of his day. His doctrine on this subject must have appeared to his contemporaries the most galling and the most paradoxical of all his ideas. And although he was undoubtedly right in maintaining that the reign of law had come to an end with the appearance of Christianity,<sup>1</sup> yet the arguments by which he supported his thesis were by no means unassailable, and his Jewish opponents may not unreasonably have considered that they had right on their side. In this section we must not look so much for points of contact with contemporary Jewish thought, but rather for the most glaring contrasts. St. Paul was here engaged on the task of destroying<sup>2</sup> the ideal of his Pharisaic days, namely, the possibility of attaining to righteousness by works of law; and it is only in the rather far-fetched and sophistical arguments by which he sought to fortify his position that we trace any effect of his earlier Rabbinical training. Still, a brief summary of the Pauline doctrine of law, if it serves but to exhibit

<sup>1</sup> Rom. 10. 4.<sup>2</sup> Gal. 2. 18, & *κατέλυσα*.

the complete antagonism to Jewish thought and to indicate the way in which a Pharisee like St. Paul could arrive at the position which he came to hold, cannot be altogether out of place in an Essay such as this.<sup>1</sup>

With regard to the meaning which St. Paul attached to the words 'law' and 'the law,' commentators have endeavoured to draw two distinctions. On the one hand it is maintained<sup>2</sup> that he uses *ὁ νόμος* of the Mosaic law and *νόμος* of law in general, or the Mosaic law when considered merely as one out of many legal systems; but as the reference is in nearly all cases to the Jewish law, this distinction, which is not altogether free from doubt, need not be discussed. It has further been held that St. Paul draws a distinction between the ceremonial and the ethical portions of the law, and that when he speaks of the failure of the law to justify man and of its coming to an end in Christ, he refers only to the former. There is no ground for maintaining such a distinction which was not made by the Jews themselves; though undoubtedly in some passages, such as those where he implies the possibility of fulfilling the law (Rom. 2), he has the ethical side more in mind, while in others (such as Gal. 3-4) the ceremonial side is the more prominent. With St. Paul the term ordinarily means (1) the whole system of the Mosaic legislation, with the hedge of minute regulations which had by his time gathered about it, (2) the volume of the Pentateuch, and occasionally (3) the whole Old Testament (R. 3. 19, 1 C. 14. 21).

It is necessary here, as always in St. Paul, to take

<sup>1</sup> The writer is largely indebted to Pfleiderer's chapter on the subject in the following sketch (*Paulinismus*<sup>2</sup>, 86-110).<sup>2</sup> See Lightfoot on G. 2. 19: S.-H. on R. 2. 12.



account of his opponents' position—to get some idea of the prevailing views of the law.<sup>1</sup> Since the return from the Exile the law had attained to an ever-increasing importance; as the independence of the nation waned, the Jewish patriot turned his attention from political schemes to concentrate it on the study of the law. The final destruction of the Jewish capital carried this tendency still further. The law, according to the Rabbis, had an eternal existence, it had pre-existed with God; according to one account (based on Ps. 105. 8) it was created 1000 generations before its promulgation. It was regarded as the daughter of God, with which He was loath to part. God Himself, it was said, fulfils the law, and no day passes on which He does not promulgate a new Halacha (or ruling on some disputed point in the law) in the Council above. It is the unique expression of God's will, containing everything necessary to salvation. The passage Deut. 30. 12, 'It is not in heaven,' which St Paul applies to the Gospel (R. 10. 6 ff.) was by the Rabbis interpreted of this completeness and finality of the law: 'in order that you say not, Another Moses will arise and bring us another law from heaven, I will tell you, *there is nothing of it left in heaven.*' The other O.T. writings hold an inferior position to it and only came into being because of sin: 'If Israel had not sinned, then only the five divisions of the Torah would have been given them and the book of Joshua' (Nedarim 22 b). The transient and secondary character here ascribed to the other O.T. books is by St. Paul ascribed to the

<sup>1</sup>This picture of Rabbinical teaching on the law is based on Weber, 1-80.

law itself (*νόμος δὲ παρεισῆλθεν*, R. 5. 20). It was destined for all mankind, and was offered to the Gentiles, but rejected by them. Mechilta 70 a says it was given in the wilderness in a place open to all the world, not in the land of Israel lest the people of the world should say they had no part in it: 'And if they should say, they had not heard the voice of the thunder, the Scripture teaches, All people heard the thunder and said, The voice of Jehovah.' We are here reminded of the argument in R. 10. 16 ff., where St. Paul meets the plea that the Jews had not heard the Gospel. The law is the highest good, the source of life (cf. 2 Esd. 14. 30, *lex vitae*) and illumination, it has a sanctifying and consoling power and preserves men from death. The study of the law is the highest employment of man, even higher than the fulfilment of its precepts; phylacteries and other symbols are to be continually worn to keep him in mind of the Torah. Yet it was not denied that the keeping of it was a heavy burden; 'the yoke of the law' was a phrase invented by the Jews themselves (Ps. Sal. 7. 8, Apoc. Bar. 41. 3, cf. Gal. 5. 1). Then again, so firm was the belief that the law had existed from all time, that the study and practice of it was by an anachronism attributed to the early Patriarchs. Adam, it was said, for instance, was circumcised and observed the Sabbath: the strife of Jacob and Esau in their mother's womb was a dispute as to the meaning of a passage in the law. The Book of Jubilees illustrates this tendency: the Jewish feasts according to that book were instituted by Abraham and Jacob, and the whole of the Mosaic ceremonial was observed by the Patriarchs. It is not impossible that St. Paul had in mind some such absurd anachron-



isms as these when he laid stress upon the late date in Jewish history at which the Mosaic law was introduced, 430 years after the promise to Abraham. These illustrations of the Rabbinic doctrine as to the law may be supplemented by some notices taken from two works of a more popular kind, which, as we have seen, although a little later than St. Paul, yet reflect the views of his time: 2 Esdras and the Apocalypse of Baruch. Here again the eternity and the imperishableness of the law is spoken of: though the teachers depart, yet 'the law does not perish, but abides in its honour' (2 Es. 9. 37). Baruch especially emphasizes man's justification by works and law: 'those who have been justified in my law . . . saved by their works' (51. 3, 4), 'the righteous have with Thee a store of good works' (14. 12), Hezekiah was saved by his works (63). In Esdras there is not the same confidence in salvation by works alone: faith is united with works, and faith in the law or the testimonies is a constant phrase. The difficulty of keeping the law is emphasized in this book, and in words resembling St. Paul's the writer asks: 'Who is there among them that be alive that hath not sinned, and who of the sons of men that hath not transgressed Thy covenant?' (7. 46). Still he too can exclaim: 'Yea rather let many that now be perish than that the law of God which is set before them be despised' (7. 20).

It was, then, against this post-exilic growth of tradition which had gathered about the law, against this confidence in the possession of a superior knowledge and a certain way to attain to salvation (R. 2. 17-20) that St. Paul's attack was directed. He was not blind to the privilege of the Jew in the possession of the

law: he recognised that the chief advantage of the Jew was that to him had been committed the oracles of God (R. 3. 2, 9. 4); he realised the moral grandeur of the law, and could speak of it as holy and spiritual, and of the commandment as holy and just and good (R. 7. 12-14). He too had passed through the stage of putting absolute trust in the law (G. 2. 19, *διὰ νόμου νόμῳ ἀπέθανον*). His life fell into three divisions, a state of unconsciousness of the claims of law (R. 7. 9, *ἔζων χωρὶς νόμου ποτε*), a life under the constraint of law, and a life of freedom from law when he can speak of himself as under law to Christ (*ἐννομος Χριστοῦ*, 1 C. 9. 21). From the second of these stages he had been liberated by his conversion, but that event was, as we have seen, probably preceded by a period of inward conflict, in which he was gradually brought to see the powerlessness of the law as a method of salvation.

The two great theses which St. Paul set himself to prove in his conflict for Gentile liberty were: (1) Through works of the law shall no flesh be justified, and (2) the law was a secondary institution which came in between a promise made to Abraham and the fulfilment of that promise, for the sake of sin, that is to increase man's sense of sin and actually to create and multiply the sin of the world. We shall briefly consider here first the way in which he was brought to realise the powerlessness of the law to justify man, and secondly, the true aim and purpose of the law in the history of the world according to St. Paul, and the arguments by which he supported his view.

The impossibility of attaining to righteousness by





means of the law is again and again emphatically stated by St. Paul (R. 3. 20, G. 2. 16, G. 3. 11).  
 Reasons for the failure of the law. Two reasons appear to have led him to this view, one theoretical, and the outcome of reflection on the meaning of Christ's death; the other practical, and based on the contrast between the weakness of humanity and the stern uncompromising character of the law, which merely forbids certain actions and threatens punishment for the non-fulfilment of the opposite actions, but offers no assistance to man in his struggle to fulfil its requirements, no inward motive to inspire him in his seeking after righteousness.

The first of these views appears in Gal. 2. 21, *εἰ γὰρ διὰ νόμου δικαιοσύνη, ἅρα Χριστὸς ὥρην ἀπέθανεν*. If righteousness was attainable by law, then Christ's death was gratuitous, superfluous, unmeaning. A crucified Messiah was the stumbling block of the Jew. But St. Paul, even before his conversion, may have been led by the early Christian martyrdoms to reflect whether there was not some meaning in that death which could induce those martyrs to face death so readily. And the explanation at which, at any rate after his conversion, he arrived was that the death of Christ was intended to take the place of the death which all mankind had incurred by their failure to fulfil the law. The law exacted its full penalty, and it could only be paid by one who fulfilled all its claims by being born under the law (G. 4. 5), being circumcised (R. 15. 8), and while remaining sinless, yet taking the whole curse of the law upon Himself (G. 3. 13). Thus the law came to an end in Christ (R. 10. 4). The perfect

(1) Meaning of Christ's death.

fulfilment of the law was necessary, according to St. Paul, to produce its abrogation; but once fulfilled, it was superseded and its place taken by a new mode of salvation, namely, faith in the redemptive power of Christ's death. This belief in the abrogation of the law by its perfect fulfilment in Christ and by His death is of course the outcome of St. Paul's Christianity, and without parallel or direct antecedent in Jewish theology. The Jew, indeed, looked for a perfect fulfilment of the law by the nation to usher in the Messianic age. 'If all Israel together for a whole day were to do penitence, then would the redemption through the Messiah follow,' 'If Israel only kept two Sabbaths as they should be kept, they would forthwith be redeemed';<sup>1</sup> the Messiah Himself was regarded as the great or second Redeemer, the antitype of Moses the first redeemer, and was by fulfilment of the law and by penitence (for he was not to be sinless) to attain to perfect righteousness. But the redemption was merely the deliverance of Israel from its earthly foes: and of an abrogation of the law, or of a Messiah dying to atone for the sins of the world, Jewish thought knew nothing.<sup>2</sup>

The other reason given for the impotence of the law is the weakness of the flesh, or man's unaided humanity, and the objectivity of the law, which could merely forbid, but could not eradicate man's proneness to sin or offer any help in his struggle to fulfil it.<sup>3</sup> The law itself was spiritual, but man is carnal, and there is a continual struggle between his better

(2) Man's fleshly nature opposed to and incapable of fulfilling the law.

<sup>1</sup> Weber, 348-9.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 359-362.

<sup>3</sup> See the paraphrase of R. 8. 3-4 in S.-H., pp. 189-190.



and his worse self; the reasoning here turns on St. Paul's opposition between *σάρξ* and *πνεῦμα*, an opposition which was formerly attributed to the influence of Greek thought, but is now rightly referred solely to an Old Testament basis.<sup>1</sup> It was impossible, according to St. Paul, to fulfil the whole law. And yet there was a Jewish doctrine that 'whosoever keepeth the whole law but stumbleth in one point has become guilty of all' (Jas. 2. 10): so St. Paul says, 'Every circumcised person is a debtor to do the whole law' (G. 5. 3). Notwithstanding this Jewish belief in the solidarity of the law, some Rabbinic writings did maintain the possibility of sinlessness: the Patriarchs and other holy men, it was said; passed sinless lives. Still there were not wanting Jews of St. Paul's time, who, like the writer of 2 Esdras, approximated to the Apostle's belief that fulfilment of the law was impossible. 2 Es. 8. 35, 'For in truth there is no man among them that be born, but he hath dealt wickedly; and among them that have lived there is none which hath not done amiss'; cf. 7. 46, 'For who is there of them that be alive that hath not sinned, and who of the sons of men that hath not transgressed Thy covenant?'

The law being thus set aside as a means to attain to righteousness, the question which naturally forced itself upon the Apostle and had to be met was, What was the meaning of the law in the divine ordering of the world's history? The question is put and answered in two verses of the Epistle to the Galatians

St. Paul's view  
of the true  
aim of the  
law.

<sup>1</sup> S.-H. 181.

(3. 19-20), 'What then is the law? It was added for the sake of transgressions (*τῶν παραβάσεων χάριν προσετέθη*) until the seed should come to whom the promise was made, being ordained by angels in the hand of a mediator, but the mediator is not [a mediator] of one, but God is One.' The passage is one of notorious difficulty, but the general sense seems to be: the law was an institution which came in subsequent to 'the promise,' not so much to check sin, but rather to produce transgression: it was of temporary duration, not eternal: it was not given directly by God to man, but was indirectly communicated to him through the intervention of other agents (who were not divine), and it partook of the nature of a contract.

The word *χάριν* used in the above passage might possibly bear the meaning of 'because of' (which both A.V. and R.V. here adopt: cf. 1 Jo. 3. 12), 'as the result of,' though it is doubtful whether it could depart so far from its original sense of 'in favour of' as to mean 'to check' sin. But St. Paul's language elsewhere shows that he uses it here in the sense of 'to produce' or 'create' transgression; the passage which shows this most clearly is Rom. 5. 20, *νόμος δὲ παρεισηλθεν ἵνα πλεονάσῃ τὸ παράπτωμα*. From the substantive used in each case—*παραβάσις* 'transgression,' *παράπτωμα* 'trespass,'—it appears that St. Paul does not directly say that law produced *sin*, but merely that it produced the violation of a code. Where there was no code of law in force, there could be no violation of it (R. 4. 15). Still the general tenor of his language is that the law not merely revealed sin, that is awakened the con-

Its connexion  
with sin.



science to the sinfulness of sin (R. 3. 20, 7. 7), but also incited to sin, and so increased the amount of sin in the world. And, moreover, he does not merely say that this heightening and increase of sin was the result of the institution of the law, but that it was the actual divine object with which it was given (*ἵνα πλεονάσῃ*). This was the height of paradox, the culmination of insult to the Jew who set his hope in the law. To answering the Jewish rejoinder, 'Is the law then sinful?' a section is devoted to St. Paul (R. 7. 7 ff.), in which he emphatically denies such an inference, while attributing the result produced by the law to the weakness of the flesh.

These startling statements with regard to the aim of the law required to be supported by proofs if they were to gain any acceptance with Jews, if not merely to satisfy the Apostle himself. He had to meet the difficulties: how could the divinely-given law be temporary, if a revelation of the eternal will of God? How could it be a revelation of the holy will of God if its aim and its result was to produce sin?

The main argument which St. Paul adduces for the subsidiary position of the law is the late date in Jewish history at which it was introduced. If it was intended to be an institution of eternal significance, why was it not given to the Patriarchs at the first? The Jews too had raised this question, and in their reverence for the law had shown a tendency, as we have seen, to antedate its institution, or at least to imply that it was not unknown to the Patriarchs. Adam, they said, was to have been the recipient of the law, but he broke the

Arguments  
used to prove  
the subsidiary  
character of  
the law.

(1) Chronologi-  
cal argument.  
The promise  
and the law.

six commandments which were given to him (a sort of compendium of the Decalogue, to which a seventh, it was said, was added in the time of Noah). Abraham knew and fulfilled the whole law.<sup>1</sup> St. Paul opposed this tendency to anachronism, and recalled his opponents to the historical fact that 430 years intervened between the time of Abraham and the lawgiving (Gal. 3. 17). Looking back into the pre-Mosaic period he found mention of an earlier and an 'eternal covenant' made between God and Abraham (Gen. 17. 7 f.), and a promise several times repeated to Abraham and his seed. The promise, it is true, was primarily that Abraham's descendants should inherit the land of Canaan: but the addition that in his seed should all the families of the earth be blessed was capable of, and could not fail to receive, a much wider interpretation than earthly blessings. The idea of a promise or promises, signifying the redemption that was to be wrought by the Messiah, had taken a hold upon the Jewish mind shortly before the coming of Christ. We find it in Ps. Sal. 12. 8, 'Let the saints of the Lord inherit the promises of the Lord,' and repeatedly in 2 Esdras and Baruch (e.g. 2 Es. 4. 27, 'quae in temporibus justis reprobmissa sunt');<sup>2</sup> 'the promises' are among the privileges of Israel enumerated by St. Paul (R. 9. 4).

Considering, then, this current Messianic use of the term 'promises,' it was natural that St. Paul should associate the promises made to Abraham with the coming of Christ. But the argument by which he seeks to establish a Messianic reference in Genesis must be con-

The promises.

Argument  
from the use of  
the singular  
σπέρμα.

<sup>1</sup> Weber, 263-5.

<sup>2</sup> See S.-H. on Rom. 4. 13.



sidered extremely fanciful and sophistical. He has recourse here to the dialectical methods in vogue among his opponents. "To Abraham were the promises spoken and to his seed: he saith not, And to seeds, as of many, but as of one, And to his seed, which is Christ" (G. 3. 16). The word σπέρμα and its Hebrew equivalent זרע are ordinarily collective words denoting a race of descendants: and the use of σπέρμα of a single descendant, and of σπέρματα of several descendants, though not without examples, is quite the exception. Instances of the first we have in Gen. 4. 25 (σπέρμα ἕτερον ἀντὶ Ἀβελ), 21. 13 (ὅτι σπέρμα σόν ἐστιν), and in a few other passages; instances of the second use are found occasionally in Attic poetry and prose, not in the O.T. proper, but in the later apocryphal books and Josephus (4 Macc. 18. 1, ὁ τῶν Ἀβραμιαίων σπερμάτων ἀπόγονοι, Jos. Ant. 8. 7. 6). To quote the words of Meyer's *Commentary*,<sup>1</sup> 'we must confess that St. Paul has not merely given to the O.T. passage a Christian application which goes beyond its historical sense, but has also . . . supported this application by an argument from the language which is untenable, and which clearly belongs to the Rabbinical artificial style of interpretation.' Instances of similar Rabbinical arguments (drawn e.g. from the use of the plural זרעים [זרעים] instead of the singular זרע) are quoted by Surenhusius,<sup>2</sup> who points out that inferences were drawn from the use of the singular even where the word possessed no plural. This undue stress on the grammatical form of a word was not confined to Palestinian Judaism. Philo, in a very similar manner

<sup>1</sup> *Galatians* (1899), p. 196. <sup>2</sup> Βιβλος Καταλλαγῆς, 84 f.

to St. Paul, lays stress on the use of the singular τέκνον in Gen. 17. 16: πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν ἄξιον θαυμάσαι τὸ μὴ πολλὰ τέκνα φάναι δώσειν, ἐν δὲ χαριεῖσθαι μόνον. διὰ τί δέ; ὅτι τὸ καλὸν οὐκ ἐν πλῆθει μᾶλλον ἢ δυνάμει πέφυκεν ἐξετάζεσθαι.<sup>1</sup> It is clear that St. Paul did not always interpret σπέρμα in this way; in R. 4. 13, 16, the seed to whom the promise was made is explained as referring to the spiritual descendants of Abraham, Jews and Gentiles. But in the contest for Gentile liberty he did not refuse on occasion to have recourse to his adversaries' weapons. Though the form of argument used cannot be regarded as satisfactory, the truth conveyed by it that the promises to Abraham pointed to something beyond the possession of Caanan need not be disputed.

But this digression has carried us away from the main point. Finding this promise to Abraham, and interpreting it as looking forward to and receiving its fulfilment in Christ, St. Paul regarded the law which intervened as a mere parenthesis (παρεισήλθεν, R. 5. 20) in the divine ordering of the world to bridge over the interval between promise and fulfilment. It was something adventitious: it could not be regarded as a clause or condition superadded to the earlier covenant and of equal validity with it, for 'even in the case of a man's covenant which has been ratified no man maketh it void or addeth additional clauses thereto' (Gal. 3. 15).

Two metaphors are used to describe the office performed by the law; it is regarded as the jailor (G. 3. 23, ὑπὸ νόμον ἐφρουρούμεθα συνκλειόμενοι, cf. 22, συνέκλεισεν) and as the παιδαγωγός (24). The first

<sup>1</sup> *De nat. nom.*, 26.





metaphor conveys the idea that the Jews were, prior to the coming of Christ, kept under strict supervision and prevented from escaping (cf. 2 C. 11. 32) to seek any other method of salvation than faith in Christ. 'The law, by calling out the knowledge of sin and increasing the enticement to it, heightened the feeling of guilt and the need of redemption from the divine wrath, without, however, itself being able to introduce this redemption.'<sup>1</sup> The second metaphor carries on this idea of confinement and restraint. From St. Paul's language elsewhere we cannot press the meaning of the latter metaphor so as to regard the law as the guardian of the morals of the Jewish race in its infancy. The idea of constraint is the most prominent. The law is regarded as a negative preparation for the final redemption to be brought by Christ.

A second argument for the inferior position of the law as compared with the promise is derived from the manner in which it was given and from its nature. It was 'ordained through angels by the hand of a mediator. Now a mediator is not [a mediator] of one, but God is One.' The last words have received a great many interpretations, but we may say generally that the drift of the passage is first to show the inferiority of the law from the number of persons through whom it was transmitted to the Jews—it was not given directly from God as was the promise to Abraham, but there were intermediate agents employed, the angels and Moses; and secondly to prove its inferiority from its nature—it was of the nature of a contract between two parties, and therefore its end could not be attained unless both

(2) Manner of  
of the law-  
giving.

<sup>1</sup> Meyer.

parties fulfilled their part of the contract, whereas the promise was a free gift without conditions on the part of the recipient. The law, as Lightfoot puts it, is 'contingent and not absolute,' whereas in the promise 'there is nothing of the nature of a stipulation.'

Such seems to be the meaning of the rather obscurely-worded argument in Gal. 3. 20. The only other interpretation of the last words which appears to deserve serious consideration is that maintained among others by Klopper.<sup>1</sup> He takes St. Paul to say that 'a mediator is usually found only as a delegate of a plurality,' and the plurality here intended is the company of the angels; Moses therefore received the law not directly from God, but from a plurality of persons, namely the angels; St. Paul, according to this interpretation is arguing that the law has only a relatively divine origin. But the premiss that a mediator is not employed between man and man, but only as the representative of a plurality is not universally true, and this meaning would seem to require the insertion of πολλῶν before ἀγγέλων. We may take it then that the unity or oneness of God is contrasted not with a plurality (whether of angels or Israelites), but with a duality, the two parties who are necessary to any contract or agreement.

In this argument St. Paul makes use of a Jewish tradition and a Jewish traditional name for the law-giver. *The Angels*. The passages which illustrate this contemporary tradition (not found in the original account) of the presence and agency of the angels at

<sup>1</sup> *Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.*, 1870, pp. 78 ff. 'Zwei merkwürdige Äusserungen des P. über die Genesis des Mosaischen Gesetzes. This interpretation is revived in an article in the *Expositor* for Sept. 1899, 'Moses the Angelic Mediator.'



the giving of the law are adduced elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> The mention of 'myriads of holy ones' in the song of Moses (Deut. 33. 2) gave rise to the tradition of their presence, as adding to the glories of Sinai; from being passive attendants growing tradition represents them as active agents in the lawgiving. But to the Jew their presence and agency always added lustre to the law (Acts 7. 53). St. Paul, on the contrary, uses the tradition as a point of attack to depreciate the law. It was not given, he says, as you admit, directly by God, but was transmitted through the angels; you cannot therefore be sure that you have in it the direct, unadulterated expression of God's will, as you may be when God delivers a promise in His Own Person. The whole context, as well as St. Paul's doctrine elsewhere on Angelology, shows that they are here mentioned to detract from the law.

*The Mediator.* Here St. Paul uses a common Jewish title for Moses. The name does not occur in the O.T., although it is implied by Deut. 5. 5, *καὶ γὰρ ἐστίκηκεν ἀνάμεσον κυρίου καὶ ἑμῶν*. In contemporary writings we may quote *Assumpt. Mos.* i. 13, 'Accordingly He designed and devised me and He prepared me before the foundation of the world that I should be the mediator of His covenant,' and Philo, *Vit. Mos.* iii. 19, *οἶα μεσίτης καὶ διαλλίκτης*; the title is also found in the Talmud.<sup>2</sup> It is implied by the designation of Christ in Hebrews (8. 6, etc.) as the mediator of a better covenant. St. Paul again takes up a current phrase of his opponents and uses it as a point of attack.

Though St. Paul does not directly deny the divine

<sup>1</sup> pp. 161 ff.

<sup>2</sup> סמוך

authorship of the law, it can hardly be unintentional that the name of God occurs several times in connexion with the earlier covenant, 'foreordained of God,' 'God hath granted it to Abraham by promise,' 'the promises of God,' but never in connexion with the law. He is silent as to the authorship of that, and though passages in the Romans show that he would shrink from setting aside its divine origin altogether, his argument here seems to lead him to attribute to it only a relatively divine origin.

In 2 Cor. 3. 4-18 St. Paul contrasts the openness and plain speaking of the Gospel with the obscurity of the law, here described as 'the ministry of death' or 'of condemnation,' and the veil <sup>(3) The allegory in 2 Cor. 3.</sup> which it throws over the hearts of those who trust in it. For this purpose he allegorises the story told in Exodus 34 of Moses putting a veil over his face when his face shone after his intercourse with God. 'Having therefore such a hope, we use great plainness of speech and are not as Moses who put a veil upon his face, that the children of Israel should not look steadfastly on (or unto) the end of that which was passing away.' In plain language St. Paul's allegory seems to mean that Moses knew of the transitoriness of the law, and wished to hide the fact from the Israelites; he supposed that they would infer from the vanishing of the glory on his face the ultimate vanishing of the law, and therefore put the veil on his face *when he had done speaking to them* and the glory was in the act of fading away. He purposely withheld from them the knowledge that the glory of the law was evanescent.

So far as the interpretation of the O.T. language goes,



St. Paul is strictly correct in representing Moses as only veiling his face at the end of his speech. The A.V. misinterprets the passage, by translating 'till' for 'when' in Ex. 34. 33 ('And when Moses had done speaking with them he put' . . . , Heb. וַיִּכְסֵּי . . . רֹאשׁוֹ לַXX καὶ ἐπειδὴ κατέπαυσεν λαλῶν), and has thus given rise to the erroneous idea that Moses veiled his face during his speech to the Israelites because they could not bear to look upon it. The fanciful inference which St. Paul draws from the passage is in keeping with the allegorical methods of interpretation of the time, and is another instance how in meeting Jewish objectors he has recourse to their own modes of thought and interpretation. But it cannot be regarded as more than a fanciful allegory: it is used as an illustration, but not as a proof of the subordinate position of the law. It certainly is not to be considered as a correct exegesis of the passage in Exodus.

We must briefly consider in concluding this section how far St. Paul's view of the law was exhaustive and how far the functions which he ascribes to it were its true functions as recognised by the lawgiver and the Jews to whom it was given. We have seen that St. Paul arrived at his conclusions by reflection on the meaning of Christ's death. He looked back from the new to the old, carrying the light shed by the appearance of Christ into his interpretation of the Mosaic system, and endeavoured, as Pfleiderer says, to represent the new as the oldest of the old. He was in a difficult position, as he endeavoured to establish his doctrine of the transitoriness of the law out of the law itself: 'do we then make the law of none effect through faith? God forbid,

Criticism of  
St. Paul's  
position.

may we establish the law' (R 3. 31). On the one hand he upheld the divine authority of the O.T. writings, while on the other he rejected to a great extent their literal historical meaning.

One must admit that from the historical standpoint, his Jewish opponents had right on their side. The law was given, and was regarded by Moses and the Israelites as given, to be a check upon sins, and not merely to multiply sin and so to awaken an expectation of some great redemption in the future. There was no opposition between the covenant to Abraham and the law; the law was the complement of the promise, and the covenant itself was accompanied by the giving of circumcision, and therefore was not absolutely unconditional, but contingent upon the fulfilment of a legal ordinance by the descendants of Abraham. This argument is met by St. Paul in Rom. 4 by the answer that the recognition of Abraham's faith was prior in time to the giving of the 'seal of circumcision.' Pfleiderer's words<sup>1</sup> sum up the position well: "however profound and true from the standpoint of a Christian philosophy of history is the relation which the Apostle established between the law and the divinely-appointed method of salvation, and however keen in details is the dialectic with which he sought to prove this relation in Rom. 4 and Gal. 3 from the position of the law with regard to the promise, yet it cannot be denied that all this lay far from the historical intention of the lawgiving, and is quite without ground in the letter of the law."

It may be questioned whether the law was not unduly depreciated by St. Paul. With a revolutionist such as he was, seeking arguments to convince his

<sup>1</sup> *Paulinismus*, 106.



opponents of the correctness of his position, it was natural that in the heat of the controversy for Gentile liberty, there should be some exaggeration. 'The weak and beggarly elements' is an instance perhaps of such undue disparagement; but then it must be remembered that this phrase is probably intended to cover heathen as well as Jewish institutions, and that the ceremonial rather than the ethical side of the law is prominent in the Epistle where it occurs. It must also be remembered that very different language is used in the Romans with regard to the 'holiness' and 'spirituality' of the law and the possibility and merit of fulfilling it (Rom. 2). These inconsistencies are explained by the different readers addressed, and by the fact that when the Roman Epistle was written the controversy for Gentile liberty was practically at an end. The fact that St. Paul was a pioneer in that cause accounts for a great deal. It was necessary to state the inefficacy of the law in the strongest terms. The time had hardly come for resort to the argument used by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, that the law was something preparatory to the Gospel, 'the better covenant,' and was 'a shadow of good things to come.' Hints of such a method of argument are not wanting in the phrase *τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου*, and perhaps in the use of *παιδαγωγός*, which seem to imply a certain educational value in the law, in the metaphor of the *ἐπίτροποι* and *οἰκονόμοι*, in 1 C. 5. 7 *Χριστὸς τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν* and in Col. 2. 17 *ἃ ἔστιν σκιὰ τῶν μελλόντων*. But they are not frequent. The allegorical method of interpretation of the O.T. is, however, largely used in the argument on the law. We have seen the meaning which is attributed by the Apostle to the veiling of Moses' face, and the

inference drawn from the use of the singular 'seed' in the promise to Abraham, and there is also the allegory derived from the history of Sarah and Hagar (Gal. 4. 21-31), a passage with a marked Rabbinical colouring to which we shall revert elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> It appears that St. Paul made a point of using his adversaries' weapons and appealing to their traditions (the angelic presence at the lawgiving) and phrases (the mediator, the Upper Jerusalem) in the controversy; and though the arguments which he uses may appear unsatisfactory, the employment of Rabbinical methods in such a controversy cannot be surprising, and the allegorical interpretations of the O.T. are in any case infinitely higher than the puerile meanings extracted from it by his contemporary Philo.

<sup>1</sup> pp. 196 ff., 212 ff.





## CHAPTER IV.

## JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH OR WORKS.

THE subject which it is proposed briefly to touch on in this section constitutes one of the fundamental ideas of the Pauline theology, and one in which the Apostle's independence of thought and his complete break from Judaism is most apparent. A detailed discussion on this and kindred subjects does not form part of an essay which deals rather with those points where the Apostle comes in contact with Jewish thought than with the points of direct antagonism to it. But even here there is some underlying kernel or basis to be found in Judaism, which is taken up and worked out by the Apostle. While touching therefore on the points of contrast, it will be rather our aim to ascertain how far any earlier ideas may have contributed to the building up of the Apostle's doctrine and to trace the parallels in Jewish thought, however remote these may be, to the fundamental ideas of his Christianity.

It will be well in the first place to consider briefly what was the Jewish idea of righteousness and the means of attaining to it in the time of St. Paul.<sup>1</sup> St.

<sup>1</sup> See Weber, chap. xix., esp. §§ 59-62 (pp. 277-292), and Schürer *H.J.P.*, ii. 2, § 28.

Paul fully recognised his nation's earnest endeavours after righteousness: "they have a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge, for being ignorant of the righteousness of God, and seeking to establish their own righteousness, they have not subjected themselves to the righteousness of God" (R. 10. 2, 3). The object of the Jew was to set himself in a right relation to God, to be justified in His sight. The idea of justification as used by the Jew had undoubtedly a forensic or judicial sense; it was a metaphor taken from a court of law. The Talmudic term for to justify is *יָפִית* 'to pronounce innocent,' 'to acquit,' derived from the substantive *יָפִית* 'purity,' which is from *יָקָר* 'to be pure.' The opposite terms are *חָיִב* 'to condemn,' and *חַיָּבָה* 'guilt.' The word *יָפִית* is the later term corresponding to the earlier Biblical word *צָדִק*.

According to the Jew's imagination God holds a continual court with 'His family' above, before which the deeds of men pass under review. One part of the angels takes up the accusation of each man, the other his defence. Moses is sometimes represented as the advocate of Israel. The standard by which man is judged is his fulfilment or non-fulfilment of the commands of the Torah. His acts of obedience and his transgressions are all numbered; with reference to each separate command or prohibition of the law he is pronounced guilty or innocent. Man is continually laying up a store of good works or a store of demerits in heaven. The apocryphal literature illustrates this. 2 Esd. 7. 77, 'Etenim est tibi thesaurus operum repositus apud altissimum'; 8. 33 ff. 'Justi enim quibus



sunt operae multae repositae apud te, ex propriis operibus recipient mercedem'; 8. 36, 'ii qui non habent substantiam operum bonorum'; Apoc. Bar. 14. 12, 'The righteous justly hope for the end and without fear depart from this habitation, because they have with thee a store of works preserved in treasures.' (The metaphor is used by St. Paul of the wrath laid up for the impenitent Jew in R. 2. 5, *θησαυρίζεις σεαυτῷ ὀργήν*.) Man's actions are weighed in the balance, and according as his good deeds outweigh or are outweighed by his transgressions, his status before God as righteous or unrighteous is determined. In a case where the actions are evenly balanced, God in His mercy presses down the scale of merits. In this last case we see an instance of 'imputed righteousness.' Another instance of this appears in the belief that the will or determination to perform a command of the law is reckoned as equivalent to the performance of it, while the intention to do ill counts for nothing, and the evil thought is not reckoned as an act.<sup>1</sup> There is a record in heaven of all actions and words of the individual, written by the angels or by Elias, to which God sets His seal (cf. the metaphorical use of *σφραγίζειν* in Eph. 1. 13, 4. 30). The whole world undergoes judgement daily, and, like the individual, is pronounced righteous or the reverse according as its merits are or are not in the majority

<sup>1</sup> Weber, 280. Other instances of the idea of 'imputation' are quoted from second century Midrashim in Weber, p. 281; Mechilta, 16b, on Exod. 12. 28, 'Have they then already fulfilled the Passover command? No, but from the moment when they undertook to fulfil it, God imputed it to them as though they had fulfilled it': Sifre, 73a, on Psalm 44. 22, 'Can man then be killed all the day long? No, but God imputed it to the righteous, as though they were killed all the day.'

at the moment.<sup>1</sup> The result of this is that man is in a continual state of uncertainty as to his acceptance before God. Apart from works of law man may attain to righteousness by good works not expressly enjoined in the law, such as almsgiving and similar acts of supererogation. Then again, a man's own righteous acts could be supplemented by the merits of the dead patriarchs (R. 11. 28, *ἀγαπητοὶ διὰ τοὺς πατέρας* is a trace of this), and each generation could be saved through the righteousness and intercession of the few righteous who lived in it. As instances of this we may quote Apoc. Bar. 2. 2, 'Because your works are to this city as a firm pillar'; 14. 7, 'And if others did evil, it was due to Zion that on account of the works of those who wrought good works she should be forgiven.' Here again we find the idea of imputed righteousness. The enthusiasm for the law which induced the Jews of St. Paul's time to lay down the minutest regulations with regard to man's duty under all circumstances was prompted by a firm belief in the divine retribution which awaited the perfect fulfilment of the law. The covenant between God and His people was looked upon as a contract (cf. Gal. 3. 20). 'The covenant was a legal one,' as Schürer says,<sup>2</sup> 'by which both the contracting parties were mutually bound. The people to observe the law given them by God, exactly, accurately, and conscientiously: while God was also bound in return to pay the promised recompense in proportion to their performances.'

<sup>1</sup> See the story of Ishmael quoted from Ber. rabba 53 in Weber, p. 283. The angels accuse him, but God has mercy on him because his merits predominate at the moment. 'I judge (deal with) man simply according to his momentary status.'

<sup>2</sup> H.J.P., ii. 2, p. 91.



Man's obedience to the law was his gift to God: the reward was the counter-gift of God to man. All sense of the mercy and the sovereignty of God entirely disappeared in this (as we may call it) commercial view which represented God as bound to fulfil His part of the contract.

It was necessary so far to sketch the prevalent Jewish doctrine as a foil to the opposite doctrine of the Apostle. We need not here discuss that doctrine in detail, but merely note the obvious contrasts and the less obvious points of contact which it presents to the Jewish doctrine. Foremost among the contrasts are, of course, (1) the repudiation of any merit in works of law, and (2) the place assigned to faith.

The contrasts.

(1) Again and again the Apostle, adopting the language of Ps. 142. 2, asserts that 'by works of law shall no flesh be justified' (R. 3. 20, G. 2. 16, 3. 11), and that there is another righteousness attainable without works (*δικαιοσύνην χωρὶς ἔργων*, R. 4. 6). The Jewish idea that the reward which is merited by perfect performance of the law is of the nature of a debt owing from God to man is brought before us in R. 4. 4, 5, 'Now to him that worketh the reward is not reckoned as of grace but of debt. But to him that worketh not but believeth on Him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is reckoned for righteousness.' The belief that the relation between God and man partook of the nature of a contract, and that God's hands were tied, so to speak, and that He was bound to fulfil His part of the contract, comes before us in the discussion of the law in Gal. 3. 21: and it is only when we remember that it is this idea

Contrasts and points of contact in St. Paul's doctrine of justification by faith.

which St. Paul is attacking, that the otherwise difficult language in which the absolute sovereignty of God is emphasised in Romans ix. becomes intelligible. The frequent invectives against 'boasting' are, of course, directed against the self-complacent attitude fostered in the Jew by the doctrine of the merit of works. (2) But it is the part played by faith in the scheme of man's salvation which is the entirely novel element in the doctrine of St. Paul. Faith occupied no place, or a very subsidiary one, in the ordinary Jewish conception of righteousness; the place which it holds in some contemporary Jewish writings will be considered below. St. Paul's doctrine may best be seen by a quotation of some of the primary passages. R. 1. 17, 'For therein (in the Gospel) is revealed a righteousness of God from faith unto faith: as it is written, But the righteous shall live by faith'; 3. 21, 22, 'But now apart from law a righteousness of God hath been manifested, being witnessed to by the law and the prophets, even a righteousness of God through faith in [Jesus] Christ unto all them that believe'; 10. 4, 'For Christ is the end of the law unto righteousness to everyone that believeth.' This righteousness of God is elsewhere spoken of as a righteousness which is of faith (*ἡ ἐκ πίστεως δικαιοσύνη*, R. 9. 30, 10. 6). The term 'righteousness of God' is probably to be explained<sup>1</sup> as embracing both meanings: (a) the essential righteousness of God Himself (the sense which it has in R. 3. 5, 25, 26), and (b) a gift of righteousness which God bestows upon man, a sense which is attested by the insertion of a preposition in Phil. 3. 9, where *ἐμὴν δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐκ νόμου* is

<sup>1</sup> S.-H., 24 ff.



contrasted with τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ δικαιοσύνην ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει. St. Paul's doctrine is then that there is another kind of righteousness than that attainable by man's unaided endeavours to fulfil the law, namely the righteousness of God Himself, which may be appropriated by man on the simple condition of faith in Christ. Man's faith is counted for righteousness, he is treated better than he deserves: he starts with a clear account before God, and his past is blotted out: a verdict of 'not guilty' is pronounced in his favour, even though he has hitherto been actually ungodly (ἄσεβης, R. 4. 5). Thus, startling as it may seem, 'the Christian life is made to have its beginning in a fiction.'<sup>1</sup> A reciprocation or interchange of human and divine qualities takes place: while Christ becomes a curse and sin for us (Gal. 3. 13, 2 C. 5. 21), we are made a righteousness of God in Him. It is needless here to attempt to discuss how St. Paul would have reconciled this doctrine with the importance which he elsewhere attributes to conduct and works; it is sufficient to point to his doctrine of the mystical union of Christ and the true believer, which renders continuance in evil-doing after justification an impossibility (R. 6-8). The charge that St. Paul's doctrine led to antinomianism was, we know, brought against him in his own lifetime (R. 6. 1). In addition to these fundamental contrasts between the Jewish and Pauline doctrines we may note (3) that whereas the Jew was, as we saw, in continual uncertainty as to his standing in God's sight, the Christian believer becomes immediately certain of his acceptance with God (R. 8. 1, 'There is therefore now no condemnation to them that are in Christ

<sup>1</sup> S.-H., 36.

Jesus'). (4) Another contrast is that whereas justification was the sole end of the Jew's striving, to keep the law, and is practically equivalent to ultimate salvation, with St. Paul justification by faith is merely the initial stage in the Christian's career, being followed by sanctification, and leading to ultimate glory (R. 6. 19, 8. 30).

But, in spite of the obvious contrasts, it is clear that this whole doctrine, with its formal and judicial terminology has its roots in the older ideas of Judaism.

Points of contact with Judaism in St. Paul's doctrine.

(1) In the first place the *summum bonum* to which the Christian is to aspire is conceived of under the Pharisaic name of righteousness (δικαιοσύνη), a word which occurs no more than ten times in the Gospels. The attainment of righteousness had been the goal of Paul the Pharisee, and the term is retained after his conversion to represent the object of the Christian, though it is now no longer a righteousness of man but of God.

(2) Again the judicial or forensic manner of speech and thought is retained. There can be no doubt that δικαιοῦν has the same forensic sense of 'to declare righteous,' 'to acquit' (not 'to make righteous'), which is borne by the Biblical צדק and the Talmudic זכר. The Jewish idea of the 'upper court' of God sitting in judgement on the deeds of men lies behind the phrases 'justification' and 'condemnation.' The use of the expression 'reckoning' or 'imputing' righteousness (λογίζεσθαι) reminds one of the Jewish conception of the weighing of human actions in the balance. Apart from these primary ideas, we find elsewhere in

<sup>1</sup> S.-H., 30-31.





the Apostle's writings indications of the judicial point of view. Thus the Jewish picture of the judgement-hall of God illustrates R. 8. 33, 'Who shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth: who is he that shall condemn?' and R. 3. 19, 'that every mouth may be stopped and all the world may be answerable (*ὑπόδικος*) to God.' The retention of this Pharisaic mode of thinking is clearly accounted for by the fact that St. Paul approached the subject with the aim of disproving the opposite doctrine of justification by works; the enunciation of his doctrine was occasioned by his controversy with the Judaizing party in the Christian church, and it is little to be wondered at that the form and language in which it is couched is taken from Judaism. In reality the doctrine of justification by faith differs little from the teaching of the Gospels on forgiveness of sins; but 'it may be said that the one is tenderly and pathetically human, while the other is a system of Jewish scholasticism.'<sup>1</sup>

(3) The idea of imputation also has its root in Jewish theology. On the one hand the reckoning of faith for righteousness, which means that faith is taken as an equivalent for something which it is not, may be compared with the Jewish doctrine that the will to perform any commandment (*מצוה*) is equivalent to its actual performance.<sup>2</sup> Again, the imputation of God's righteousness to man may be brought into connexion with the Jewish conception that man's own righteousness might be supplemented by the merits of the Fathers.<sup>3</sup> But here, although the root idea of the imputation of another's righteous-

<sup>1</sup> S.-H., 37.<sup>2</sup> Weber, 280.<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 292 ff.

ness is common to St. Paul and the Jew, we cannot make the parallel so close as to say that Christ's righteousness is imputed to us just as the merits of the dead Patriarchs were imputed to their descendants. For St. Paul never speaks of Christ's righteousness being imputed to us, but only of the righteousness of God being made ours through Christ. 2 C. 5. 21, 'Him Who knew no sin He made (to be) sin for us, in order that we might become the righteousness of God in Him'; Phil. 3. 9, 'not having my own righteousness which is of the law, but that which is through faith in Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith.' Pfeiderer<sup>1</sup> notes this distinction: "that Paul never uses the expression 'imputation of the righteousness or the merit of Christ' is the more remarkable, because just this mode of expression lay ready to his hand, having a precedent in the Jewish doctrine of imputation of the merits of Fathers and Saints." We should probably therefore look not so much to the contemporary Jewish theology for the ultimate source of St. Paul's thought as to passages<sup>2</sup> in the older theology of the Psalms and the latter portion of Isaiah, where the righteousness of God is spoken of as a power which goes forth and propagates itself among men. Ps. 24. 5, 'He shall receive a blessing from the Lord and righteousness from the God of His salvation'; Is. 56. 1, 'My salvation is near to come and My righteousness to be revealed'; 46. 13, 'I bring near My righteousness, it shall not be far off, and My salvation shall not tarry'; 51. 5, 6, 'My righteousness is near, My salvation is gone forth . . . My salvation shall be for ever and My righteousness shall not be abolished.' In the deutero-

<sup>1</sup> *Paulinismus*<sup>2</sup>, 184.<sup>2</sup> Quoted by S.-H., 34-35.



Isaiah we thus find in close proximity the Pauline ideas of salvation, justification, and the revelation of the righteousness of God (see Is. 45. 25): and we cannot doubt the influence which this older theology exercised on the formation of his ideas.<sup>1</sup>

We said that the really novel element in St. Paul's doctrine of justification was the part assigned to faith.

The conception of Faith in some contemporary Jewish writings.

But though the idea of justification by faith was a peculiarly Pauline one and the outcome of his conversion to Christianity, so that we cannot expect to find traces of it in contemporary Jewish thought, yet there are not wanting indications that there was a growing consciousness among the Jews of the time of the worth and efficacy of faith as a means of salvation alongside of the righteousness attainable by works. 'The idea was in the air and waiting only for an object worthy of it.'<sup>2</sup> Two motives doubtless influenced St. Paul in emphasising as he did the importance of faith. One was his own personal experience on the road to Damascus, when the truth first flashed upon him that Jesus was the Messiah, and faith in and allegiance to a Person became the well-spring of his Christianity;

<sup>1</sup> Pfleiderer draws three distinctions between the Jewish and the Pauline doctrine of Justification. He says (pp. 180-1), "It is clear at the first glance that the Pauline doctrine of justification or imputed righteousness has its root in this circle of ideas of the Jewish schools. All the more noteworthy are the differences between the former and the latter." They are (1) Imputed righteousness, according to P., is not, as with Jews, merely supplementary to the righteousness attainable by one's own works, but in place of it. (2) Christ is not merely a pre-eminently righteous Man, but the sinless Son of God, His righteousness is therefore perfect. (3) The righteousness of Christ can be imparted to all men, whereas the merits of the Fathers were only transferable to their Jewish descendants. With regard to (2) and (3) it must be remembered that 'the righteousness of Christ' is not a strictly Pauline expression.

<sup>2</sup> S.-H., 33. For what follows see S.-H., 26.

the other was his study of the Old Testament. He there found that on two great turning-points in Jewish history, one just after the call of Abraham, the other just before the Chaldaean invasion, faith played a very important part. The two 'proof-texts' to which he appeals more than once in support of his doctrine are Gen. 15. 6, 'And he believed in the Lord and He counted it to him for righteousness' (R. 4. 3, G. 3. 6), and Hab. 2. 4, 'The just shall live by his faith' (G. 3. 11, R. 1. 17). <sup>The 'proof-texts.'</sup>

Now there is good reason to believe that the first of these passages was a standard text for discussion in the Jewish schools both of Palestine and Alexandria. It is alluded to in 1 Macc. 2. 52, 'Ἀβραάμ οὐκ ἐν πειρασμῷ εὐρέθη πιστός, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ δικαιοσύνη; where Abraham's faith is the first of the 'works of the fathers' (it is noteworthy that it is classed among works) mentioned in the dying speech of Mattathias to his sons, and the one event in the life of Abraham alluded to. The first clause is repeated in Sir. 44. 20, καὶ ἐν πειρασμῷ εὐρέθη πιστός. The πειρασμός here referred to is undoubtedly the call to offer up Isaac (Gen. 22. 1, 'God did tempt Abraham,' the verb *πειράζειν* here only in Genesis), whereas the faith which was reckoned to Abraham for righteousness was his belief in the promise of a son. It thus appears from these two apocryphal passages that there was before the time of St. Paul a tendency among the Jews to connect Gen. 15. 6 with Gen. 22. 1, and to find the exemplification of Abraham's faith in the offering of Isaac. And this is exactly what we find in St. James' quotation of the passage (Jas. 2. 21-23), 'Was not Abraham our father justified by works when he offered Isaac his son upon the



altar?'<sup>1</sup> Thus while James follows the ordinary Jewish association of the Genesis passages, Paul uses a stricter exegesis of the O.T. and lays stress on the time when Abraham's faith was imputed to him, namely before his circumcision, an event which is not recorded until Gen. 18. 10 (R. 4. 9, 10).<sup>2</sup>

Then again the first of these proof-texts (Gen.

Philo on Faith. 15. 6) is frequently commented on by

Philo. It will be worth giving the substance of the more notable passages by a paraphrase.

1. Quis rerum div. haer. § 18 (Gen. 15. 6). An objector will say, Is this (faith) worthy of praise? Would not even the most unrighteous and ungodly attend to the promises of God? We reply: do not judge rashly about faith, the most perfect of virtues (*τὴν τελειοτάτην ἀρετῶν πίστιν*), or impute it to the unworthy. If you look closer, you will see that it is not easy to believe or trust in God alone because of our mortal nature, which tempts us to put trust in riches, etc. To trust in God alone is the work of a great and stupendous intellect (*μεγάλης καὶ ὀδυμπίου ἔργον διανοίας*). And it is well said that his faith was counted for righteousness, for there is nothing so right (or just) as pure faith in God alone. But this righteousness (or justice), which is so consonant with nature, appeared a strange thing because of the

<sup>1</sup>The Rabbis spoke of ten temptations of Abraham: the final temptation and the crowning instance of his faith was the offering of Isaac. (Taylor, *Sayings of Jewish Fathers*<sup>2</sup>, p. 80.)

<sup>2</sup>With regard to the connexion between the teaching of St. Paul and St. James, while these passages show that both might have alluded independently to Gen. 15. 6, yet the contrast drawn between faith and works, a purely Christian contrast, makes it more probable that St. James is refuting a distorted account of St. Paul's teaching.

unbelief of the multitude. Perfect confidence in God is the sole work of righteousness (*δικαιοσύνης αὐτὸ μόνον ἔργον*).

2. De migrat. Abr. § 9. The future tense not the present is used in Gen. 12. 1 ('the land which I will shew thee') to testify to the faith which the soul of Abraham had in God, 'showing its merit to consist (?) not in its accomplishments, but in its expectation of things to come (*οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων ἐπιδεικνυμένη τὸ εὐχάριστον ἀλλ' ἐκ προσδοκίας τῶν μελλόντων*). For clinging to and hanging upon good hope, and, without doubting, believing the things which were not present to be already present<sup>1</sup> because of the steadfastness of Him who promised, it received as its reward faith, the perfect good (*πίστιν ἀγαθὸν τέλειον*). Then follow quotations from Gen. 15. 6 and Deut. 34. 4 ('I have shown it to thine eyes and thou shalt not enter therein'), and immediately after we have the Pauline metaphor of *νήπιοι* and *τέλειοι*. The words, of which the Greek is quoted above, offer a striking parallel to the Pauline contrast between works and faith.

3. De mut. nom. §§ 33-35. Abraham's laughter (Gen. 17. 17) appears inconsistent with his faith (Gen. 15. 6). But his unbelief was only momentary (*πεποιήκε τὸν ἐνδοιασμόν οὐ πολυχρόνιον*). Abraham was liable to human infirmities; when it is said that he believed in God, his belief was not absolutely perfect, but only the belief of a man, and his lapse into incredulity was a natural thing.

4. De Abrah. §§ 45-46. Praise is given to

<sup>1</sup>Cf. R. 4. 17, κατέναντι οὐ ἐπίστευσεν θεοῦ τοῦ . . . καλοῦντος τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς ὄντα.



Abraham in Scripture because he believed God, a thing which may be said in a very brief space, but the successful achievement of which is the greatest of things. For in what else should one put one's trust? Not in high position, wealth, health, etc.; all these are uncertain and deceitful. 'Faith in God then is the only sure and infallible good, the solace of life, the fulfilment of high hopes, barren of evil and fertile in good, the ignorance (or abnegation, ἀπόγνωσις) of ill-fortune, the knowledge of piety, the inheritance of happiness, the entire amelioration of the soul, which leans for support on Him Who is the cause of all things, Who is able to do all things and willet to do those which are most excellent.'<sup>1</sup> Just below, it is spoken of as the queen of the virtues (τὴν βασιλίδι τῶν ἀρετῶν).

5. De nobilitate, § 5. Abraham is said to have been the first to believe in God, because he was the first who had a firm and unshaken conviction that the Power which is above is the One Cause and watches over the world and the things that are in it. And having acquired knowledge (ἐπιστήμην), the most stable of virtues, he acquired with it all the remaining virtues.

Turning back from Alexandria to Rabbinic theology, we find in a second century Midrash (in the work called *Mechilta*) on Exod. 14. 31, a panegyric upon faith, in which the two favourite texts of St. Paul, Gen. 15. 6 and Hab. 2. 4 are referred to. 'Great is faith whereby Israel believed on Him that spake and the world was . . . So Abraham solely for the

<sup>1</sup> The translation of this panegyric in Lightfoot, *Gal.* <sup>10</sup>, p. 160, has been made use of.

merit of faith whereby he believed in the Lord inherited this world and the other,' etc.<sup>1</sup>

The points of contact and contrast between St. Paul and the writers of Alexandria and Palestine are admirably drawn out by Lightfoot in his detached note on the faith of Abraham. Philo lost the historical sense in the history of Abraham, whom he represented to be a mere type of διδασκαλική ἀρετή. Rabbinic Judaism kept alive the historical meaning, but interpreted his faith as a mere performance of external ordinances. "Thus the coincidences and contrasts of St. Paul's doctrine of faith and of his application of Abraham's history with the teaching of the Jewish doctors are equally instructive. With the Alexandrian school it looked to the growth of the individual man, with the Rabbinical it recognised the claims of the society: with the one it was spiritual, with the other it was historical. On the other hand, it was a protest alike against the selfish, esoteric, individualising spirit of the one, and the narrow, slavish formalism of the other."<sup>2</sup>

We will refer lastly to another Palestinian work of the end of the first century where faith is associated with works in a remarkable way, and appears to be put on a level with them <sup>2 Esdras on Faith.</sup> as an alternative or a supplementary means of attaining to salvation. We have already referred<sup>3</sup> to some passages in this book where the doctrine of the merit of works is maintained. But the writer betrays a feeling of dissatisfaction with that doctrine (2 Esd. 8. 32 ff.), and a conscious-

<sup>1</sup> The passage is quoted at length by Lightfoot, *Gal.* <sup>10</sup>, p. 162.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 163.

<sup>3</sup> pp. 81 f.





ness of the difficulty of fulfilling the requirements of the law. The following are the most striking passages where faith and works are united. 9. 7, 8, *Omnis qui salvus factus fuerit et qui poterit effugere per opera sua vel per fidem in qua crediderit*, is *relinquetur de praedictis periculis et videbit salutare meum in terra mea et in finibus meis quae sanctificavi a saeculo*. 13. 23, *Qui adferet periculum in illo tempore ipse custodibit qui in periculo inciderint, qui habent opera et fidem ad fortissimum*. As there is a treasure of works, so is it possible to lay up a treasure of faith (6. 5, *antequam consignarentur qui fidem thesaurizaverunt*). In the troubles which shall precede the end of the world 'the land shall be barren of faith' (5. 1). But at the final judgement faith, works, and truth shall flourish and meet their reward; 7. 34, 35, '*Judicium autem solum remanebit, et veritas stabit et fides convalescet et opus subsequetur et merces ostendetur*'; 7. 114, '*abscissa est incredulitas, crevit autem justitia, orta est veritas*.' In these passages, however, faith seems to mean little more than loyalty to the law or a belief in the truth of the law (cf. 7. 83, *qui testamentis altissimi crediderunt*), and to be hardly distinguishable from works.<sup>1</sup> The companion Apocalypse of Baruch lays great emphasis on the efficacy of works, but hardly alludes to faith, except that 'those who believe' are contrasted with 'those who deny' or 'despise' (42. 2, 59. 2, and Charles' note on p. 95).

In the later teaching of the Talmud, faith (*אמונה*) is given a place in the scheme of salvation, but it

<sup>1</sup> See Kabisch, *Das vierte buch Esra*, 143, who compares the faith in the law of 2 Esdras with the faith in Christ of St. Paul.

is regarded as a work, which, like the fulfilment of the law, produces merit; in Ber. rabba 74 (6th cent.) the righteousness of the law and the righteousness of faith are co-ordinated.<sup>1</sup>

While it thus appears that there was a growing tendency to attach importance to faith, yet the faith intended was generally no more than belief in and loyalty to the law, and tended to become a mere species of work. There was no idea in the Jewish use of the word of an enthusiastic adherence and allegiance to a person. How far removed from these faint shadows of his teaching is the spiritual doctrine of the Apostle, of faith in the person of Christ, and especially in the atoning power of His death, a faith which claims no merit, but which derives its whole strength and sustenance from the Person trusted in, it is unnecessary further to dwell upon.

<sup>1</sup> Weber, 304-5, 308.



## CHAPTER V.

## ESCHATOLOGY.

THE subject of the last things,<sup>1</sup> the resurrection and the final judgement, occupied a foremost place in the theology of the early Christians, and more especially in the teaching of St. Paul. Such utterances as 'If in this life only we have hoped in Christ we are of all men most miserable,' 'If the dead are not raised let us eat and drink for to-morrow we die' (1 C. 15. 19, 32) show the extreme importance which he attached to the belief in a future life. The vision of the risen Lord on the road to Damascus first convinced him of the resurrection of Christ, and that resurrection thus became the earliest tenet of his Christianity and always held the first place in his preaching. And the resurrection of Christ was to him a sure pledge of man's

Primary place assigned to the belief in a resurrection in St. Paul's theology.

<sup>1</sup>Two monographs on Pauline eschatology must be specially mentioned here, those of Kabisch and Teichmann. The former treats the whole subject at great length, but his work is marred by a too materialistic view of the meaning of *ζωή* and *πνεῦμα*. He denies that *ζωή* ever bears an ethical, or *πνεῦμα* an immaterial sense; 'in the Pauline view of the universe there is nothing immaterial' (p. 206). St. Paul's horror of physical death or annihilation is exaggerated. Teichmann's work is compressed into a smaller compass, and treats the subject merely with reference to the parallels in Jewish apocryphal literature, which are here conveniently brought together. The present writer is largely indebted to the latter work.

resurrection. According to the doctrine which we find developed in the central group of Epistles of the mystical union of the believer with Christ, the Christian must inevitably pass through all the same experiences as his Master. He is crucified with Him (G. 2. 19, R. 6. 6), buried with Him symbolically when immersed in the waters of baptism (R. 6. 4), and must rise with Him, both in the ethical sense to a higher life in this world, and in the literal sense to a new life hereafter (R. 6. 4, 5).

But long before his conversion, from his earliest years, the belief in a resurrection of the body had been held by Paul the Pharisee. It was one of the distinctive tenets of the sect to which he belonged; and he himself did not hesitate, if we may trust the speeches in the Acts, to avail himself of this link between his Pharisaic and his Christian days. He created a diversion when on his trial by appealing to this point of contention between Pharisees and Sadducees (Acts 23. 7): and similarly before Felix he appealed to the belief that he shared with his accusers that there would be a resurrection of just and unjust (24. 15). The traditions of the fathers in which he was so deeply versed must to a large extent have dealt with the subject of a future life. We know, at any rate, that eschatology formed the main topic of the popular Jewish literature which was produced in the centuries immediately preceding and following the birth of Christ. The Jew, oppressed by foreign rule and with no prospect of a better future in this world, turned his thoughts to the blessings which were in store for him in 'the age to come'; and the apocalyptic literature, in many instances the outcome

A link between his Pharisaism and his Christianity.



of some special period of persecution, was intended to console the persecuted Jew by pictures of future blessedness. In these apocryphal works we thus have a great deal of information as to the views which were current in Jewish circles on the subject of eschatology. And it is in this subject, in which St. Paul's Pharisaic beliefs coincided to some extent at least with his Christian beliefs, that we should more especially expect to find traces of his earlier doctrines being taken over into his Christianity. We should not hesitate to admit, in this subject any more than in other sides of 'his Gospel,' that the divinely-inspired Apostle may have also been influenced by the current ideas of his time. Once, it is true, in this connexion he refers to 'a word of the Lord' in support of his statements about the resurrection (1 Th. 4. 15), where, in the absence of a parallel in the Gospels, we may suppose that he speaks of a direct revelation; the account of the appearances of the risen Lord were 'delivered' to him, no doubt by Peter or through Apostolic tradition. But we do not detract from the character of the Apostle by believing that the direct revelations made to him did not embrace all the details connected with eschatology, and that some of his speculations on this subject show the reflexion of current modes of thought.

St. Paul's treatment of the last things displays several of those inconsistencies or antinomies to which we are accustomed elsewhere in his Epistles. Thus we may ask: How is the idea of a final judgement in which recompense is to be made according to men's actions consistent with his doctrine of grace, according to which man can claim no merit for his works before

Inconsistencies  
in St. Paul's  
teaching on  
eschatology.

God? Again, how is it consistent with the idea of predestination which is so strongly emphasised in Romans ix.? or with the idea expressed in 2 Corinthians 5 and in Philippians that the believer will immediately after death be united with Christ?<sup>1</sup> These inconsistencies may be partly explained by supposing a development in St. Paul's doctrines. It is by no means probable that his system of thought was fully worked out at the time when he emerged from his retirement in Arabia: and there is more reason for believing in such a development in the case of his eschatology than elsewhere. It must also be remembered that he does not undertake to draw up a connected system of doctrine on the subject of eschatology or on any other subject. He was above all things a practical man, and not a founder of a theoretical system; his discussion of different aspects of eschatology was suggested by circumstances and by questions which were put to him by members of his churches. He is not concerned to harmonise apparent discrepancies.

We may say that his eschatological teaching was the outcome partly of direct revelation, partly of personal experiences (such as persecution), and partly of his Jewish training. With regard to the last of these factors, we must not lose sight of the fact that there was a variety of opinion in Jewish circles on questions of eschatology; and the inconsistencies in St. Paul may be due to his being influenced at one time by the Rabbinical teaching of Palestine and at another by the teaching of Alexandria. As it is thus not easy to present a connected exposition of St. Paul's eschatology, it will be better to group our remarks on his doctrine of the Second Coming and the Resurrection around the

<sup>1</sup> Pfeiderer, *Paulinismus*, 281.



principal passages in which those subjects are discussed, namely (1) 1 (and 2) Thessalonians, (2) 1 Corinthians 15, (3) 2 Corinthians 4-5 and Philippians: passages which appear to mark three stages in the development of the Apostle's thought.<sup>1</sup>

### I. 1 Thessalonians. The nearness of the Parousia.

In the earliest of St. Paul's Epistles the predominant thought in the discussion of the resurrection is the nearness of the second coming of Christ. There can be no doubt that at the time when he wrote 1 Thessalonians St. Paul believed in common with the early Apostolic church that this event was shortly to take place, that it was to fall within the course of his own life-time or the life-time of his readers. This is clearly indicated by the words 'we that are alive, that remain unto the coming of our Lord.' This thought recurs in some of the later letters: 'the time is short' (1 C. 7. 29), 'we shall not all sleep' (1 C. 15. 51), 'they were written for our learning, upon whom the ends of the ages have come' (1 C. 10. 11), 'for now is our salvation nearer (*i.e.* appreciably nearer) than when we believed' (R. 13. 11), *ὁ κύριος ἐγγύς* (Phil. 4. 5) with its Aramaic equivalent *Mapàn ʾāṭā* in 1 C. 16. 22. But in these later letters there also appear other statements (*e.g.* Rom. 11. 25, Phil. 3. 11) which seem to show that with advancing years the Apostle was obliged to modify his earlier belief that he himself should live to witness the second coming.

If we enquire what were the grounds for this widespread belief in the early Church, we may not

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Charles, *Eschatology* (A. and C. Black, 1899) chap. xi. He finds four stages in the development: (1) 1 and 2 Thess., (2) 1 Cor., (3) 2 Cor. and Rom., (4) Philippi., Col., Eph.

unreasonably suppose that some of our Lord's sayings, such as, 'This generation shall not pass away until all these things be fulfilled,' 'If I will that he tarry till I come,' 'There be some of them standing here who shall not taste of death until they see the kingdom of God come with power'—words which, in the light of subsequent events, were seen to have another meaning—were at the moment misunderstood and taken to refer to the second coming. Indeed, we are told, in one instance (John 21. 23) that this inference was made.<sup>1</sup>

But another reason which may have influenced a mind like St. Paul's, trained in the current beliefs of his time, is the widespread expectation in Jewish circles, in the first century, of the Jewish expectation of the nearness of the Messianic age. At any rate we shall see that he uses some of the current Jewish phrases in speaking of the nearness of the end. The following are striking instances in contemporary Jewish literature of this expectation. The writer of 2 Esdras<sup>2</sup> is told by the angel Uriel that he may expect to see the end of the world: 'if thou be alive thou shalt see, and if thou livest long (*si vixeris frequenter*) thou shalt marvel: for the world hasteth fast to pass away' (cf. 1 C. 7. 31, *παράγει γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου*). In answer to his question whether the time to come is more or less than the time which has already passed, he is told that the time to come is to the time which is past as the last rain-drops are to the storm which has preceded them, or as the smoke which remains after a great fire in a furnace (4. 44-50). In a subsequent vision in the book (perhaps the work of a different author) the end is

<sup>1</sup> See S.-H., 379 ff.

<sup>2</sup> 4. 26.





postponed to a rather later date: the seer is there told that of the twelve ages of the world's history ten and a half have already passed (14. 11, 12). We may compare also Apoc. Bar. 23. 7, 'For truly my redemption has drawn nigh and is not far distant as aforetime,' and 83. 1, 'For the Most High will assuredly hasten His times and He will assuredly bring on His hours.' St. Paul's phrase for those who are alive at the time of the Parousia, *οἱ περιλειπόμενοι*, the survivors (1 Th. 4. 15), appears to be taken over from Judaism; 'qui derelicti (relict) sunt' is the equivalent for it in the existing Latin version of 2 Esdras (7. 28, 13. 24, 26). But not only do we find a parallel to this phrase in 2 Esdras, but there is also a striking illustration of the thought in 1 Thess. 4. 15, which appears to have escaped notice. The Thessalonians, expecting the immediate advent of Christ, were overcome with grief for the fate of some members of the community who had already died, being under the impression that those who were alive at the Parousia would have some advantage over the dead, and St. Paul finds it necessary to correct this impression. 'For this I say unto you that we which are alive which remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not get the start of them which sleep.' A passage in 2 Esdras (13. 24) shows that this idea of a greater blessedness being reserved for the survivors was a prevalent Jewish belief: 'Scito ergo quoniam magis beatificati sunt qui derelicti super eos qui mortui sunt.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For Rabbinic attempts to ascertain the time of the coming of the Messiah see Weber, 349 f. Many of 'the days of the Messiah' (the last 2000 years out of the 6000 into which the world's history was divided) had, according to Talmudic writers, already passed, but the actual appearance of the Messiah was delayed by the wickedness of Israel.

Jewish tradition always spoke of the time immediately preceding the coming of Messiah as one of great distress and tumult among the nations and as a time of humiliation for Israel. <sup>The 'Woes of the Messiah.'</sup> This period of distress was known as 'the birth-pangs of the Messiah' (*הַבְּלִי הַמְּשִׁיחִי*). It was to be marked by wars of kingdom against kingdom, by famine, pestilence, and earthquake, by internecine disputes between the several members of each household, by the appearance of false Messiahs.<sup>1</sup> This period of general tribulation figures largely in the portraiture of the apocalyptic books (see 2 Esd. 5. 1-12, 6. 19-28, Apoc. Bar. 70, Jubilees 23, Ass. Mos. 10). Many of these signs of the end appear in our Lord's description of the final woes in the 24th chapter of St. Matthew and the parallels in the other synoptic Gospels; and it has been thought that they have left their mark on the language of St. Paul.

In proof of this there is adduced, in the first place, St. Paul's warning to the Thessalonians of the sufferings which they must expect: 'that no man be moved by these afflictions: for yourselves <sup>Traces of 'the woes' in St. Paul.</sup> know that hereunto we are appointed (*εἰς τοῦτο κείμεθα*). For verily when we were with you we told you beforehand that we are to suffer affliction: even as it came to pass and ye know' (1 Th. 3. 3-4). But the language here clearly indicates persecution at the hands of Jews which had actually taken place or was imminent; and there is no ground for tracing a connexion with the final woes. Nothing more is stated than that 'through many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of God' (Acts 14. 22).

<sup>1</sup> Weber, 350 f.



There is, however, some ground for supposing these woes to have been in the background of the Apostle's thought in another passage (1 Cor. 7. 26 ff.), where he warns the unmarried women to remain free from the ties of marriage, διὰ τὴν ἐνεστώσαν ἀνάγκην, and adds, 'But this I say, brethren, the time is shortened, that henceforth both those that have wives may be as those that have none . . . , and those that buy as though they possessed not, and those that use the world as not abusing it, for the fashion of this world passeth away. But I would have you to be free from cares.' It is a little doubtful whether ἐνεστώς means 'present' or 'imminent': the one meaning glides easily into the other: and as we do not know that the Corinthian church was subjected to persecution at the time when this was written, it is probable that some expected tribulation is referred to.<sup>1</sup> In Jewish apocalyptic special troubles are constantly predicted for married women in the final tribulation; there are to be monstrous and premature births (2 Es. 5. 8, 6. 21), and mothers will devour their children (*Enoch*, 99. 5). St. Paul, it is true, has none of these pictures of horrors, and the object of his warning is merely that the woman may be freed from worldly cares. Still, the present writer cannot help seeing in the phrase ἡ ἐνεστώσα ἀνάγκη, combined with the warnings about marriage and buying and selling, a reflexion of the current language about the woes. A passage<sup>2</sup> in

<sup>1</sup> Lightfoot maintains that ἐνεστώς always has the sense of 'present,' not 'imminent' (*Notes on Epistles, ad loc.*, cf. on Gal. 1. 4), yet practically keeps the meaning of 'imminent' here. He says: "Persecution was impending. There were signs of a coming storm . . . The ἀνάγκη of which the Apostle speaks might or might not be the beginning of the ἀνάγκη μεγάλη (Luke xxi. 23)."

<sup>2</sup> Weber, 350.

the treatise *Aboda Sara*, 9. 6, shows the material form taken by Rabbinical warnings as to the futility of commercial transactions in the last times: 'R. Chanania says, If anyone should say to you four hundred years after the destruction of the Temple, Buy this field for a denarius, although it is worth 1000 denarii, buy it not; for at that time will the Messiah come and we shall be redeemed: why should you lose a denarius?'<sup>1</sup> The woes were to culminate in the appearance of a man who was to be the incarnation of all iniquity; a consideration of the connexion of the apocalyptic section in 2 Thessalonians (2. 1-12) on the man of sin with Jewish ideas as to the appearance of Antichrist will require separate treatment (see note at end of this chapter). The prophecy of the evil men who shall arise 'in the last days' which appears in both Epistles to Timothy (1 Tim. 3. 1 ff., 2 Tim. 3. 1 ff.) should also be mentioned here; the latter passage finds a close parallel in the description in the *Assumption of Moses* (chap. vii.) of 'the scornful and impious men . . . self-pleasers, dissemblers . . . lovers of banquets . . . devourers of the goods of the poor,' who shall arise when 'the times will be ended.'

St. Paul speaks of the coming of the Lord 'with all His saints' (1 Th. 3. 13). There is a doubt whether angels or men are here intended, or whether both are included.<sup>2</sup> Both are mentioned in Jewish literature as attending the Messiah.

The attendants  
of Christ at  
the Parousia.

<sup>1</sup> A very close parallel to 1 Cor. 7 occurs in 2 Esd. 16. 41-47 ('He that selleth let him be as he that fleeth away, and he that buyeth as one that will lose,' etc.), but chapters 15 and 16 of that book are not earlier than the third century, and the passage is not improbably an imitation of St. Paul.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 158.



On the one hand we have *Enoch*, 1. 9: 'And lo, He comes with ten thousands of holy ones to execute judgement' (where angels are intended). On the other, 2 *Esd.* 7. 28: 'Revelabitur enim filius meus [Jesus] cum his qui cum eo et jocundabit qui relictis sunt annis quadringentis'; with which cf. 14. 9, 'Tu enim (addressed to Ezra) recipieris ab hominibus et converteris residuum cum filio meo et cum similibus tuis'; the second passage seems to show that holy men are intended as the attendants of the Messiah in the first passage.

The dead are spoken of by St. Paul as οἱ κοιμώμενοι (1 Th. 4. 13), οἱ κεκοιμημένοι (1 C. 15. 20), or οἱ κοιμηθέντες (1 Th. 4. 14).<sup>1</sup> He has not defined more nearly what he meant by this term. He seems to regard them as sleeping in their graves until the awakening (ἐγείρειν) at the resurrection. But in any case he had no occasion to dwell on this state, because at the time when he wrote 1 Thessalonians he regarded the dying of Christians before the coming of Christ as the exception; the living were to be in the majority at the second coming. This idea of sleeping in the earth meets us commonly in Jewish writings. We may quote 2 *Esd.* 7. 32, 'et terra reddet qui in ea dormiunt, et pulvis qui in eo silentio habitant,' *Apoc. Bar.* 50. 2, 'For the earth will then assuredly restore the dead which it now receives, in order to preserve them, making no change in their form, but as it has received, so will it restore them, and as I delivered them unto it, so also shall it raise them.' The common O.T. idea of a kingdom of the dead in

<sup>1</sup> In one place this sleeping is spoken of as a punishment (1 C. 11. 30).

Hades or Sheol does not meet us in St. Paul, who does not use the word ᾅδης;<sup>1</sup> but an acquaintance with this idea is implied in *Rom.* 10. 7, τίς καταβήσεται εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον; τοῦτ' ἔστιν Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναγαγεῖν (he is freely paraphrasing Deuteronomy which speaks of 'crossing over the sea' instead of 'descending into the abyss').

The procedure of events as described in 1 Thessalonians is first a descent of the Lord from heaven, 'with a shout, with the voice of the archangel and the trump of God': then the resurrection of 'the dead in Christ' (nothing is said of the resurrection of other than Christians): then the rapture of both the risen dead and the living, not into the clouds, but probably on clouds, regarded as a chariot (*Lightfoot, in loc.*), to meet the Lord in the air, and then the final blessedness, the scene of which is not stated. It is possible that St. Paul means that the Lord descends into the lower air (ἄήρ), where He is joined by the risen dead and the living, who accompany Him on the latter part of His journey to earth, which will be the scene of the final judgement. This would most simply explain the coming with all His saints.<sup>2</sup> No transformation of the earthly bodies is spoken of; and from 1 Thess. 5. 23 ('May your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless in the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ') it would appear that at this time St. Paul contemplated no such change. The most striking feature in this description is the rapture of the saints on [or into the] clouds, to which there appears to be no parallel in

Details of the resurrection as described in 1 Thessalonians.

<sup>1</sup> *Θάνατος* is the right reading in both clauses of 1 C. 15. 55.

<sup>2</sup> This suggestion is made by Teichmann, p. 22.



contemporary Jewish or Christian writers. The mention of the clouds in connexion with the coming of Christ is no doubt ultimately suggested by Daniel 7. 13, where the One like the Son of Man is represented as coming 'on' (LXX) or 'with' (Theodotion) the clouds of heaven: a passage which is used by our Lord in Matt. 24. 30, 26. 64. But allusion to the clouds as the vehicle by which or the place to which the quick and dead are wafted to meet their Lord remains as yet without illustration.

One trait in the description which is found in Jewish pictures of the end is the mention of the trumpet-blast. It is retained by St. Paul in 1 Cor. 15. 52, where the metamorphosis of dead and living is said to take place 'at the last trump: for the trumpet shall sound (*σαλπίζει γάρ*), and the dead shall be raised incorruptible and we shall be changed.' Perhaps the earliest occurrence of the trumpet in extant Jewish writings is in 2 Esd. 6. 23, 'Et tuba canet cum sono, quam cum omnes audierint, subito expavescent.'<sup>1</sup> It is there mentioned in close connexion with the opening of the books for judgement (verse 20), and the object is apparently, as in St. Paul, to awaken the dead and summon the living to judgement.<sup>2</sup> The trumpeter in Jewish writings generally appears as the Archangel Michael,<sup>3</sup> who may be referred to in the mention of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Sibylline Oracles*, iv. 173-4, πῦρ ἔσται κατὰ κόσμον θλον καὶ σῆμα μέγιστον | ρομφαίη σάλπιγγι θ' ἄμ' ἡέλιω ἀνιόντι. The date of this book is about 80 A.D.

<sup>2</sup> Kabisch (p. 54 f.) has ground for supposing some displacement here in the text of 2 Esdras. Some of the signs of the end are here interposed in the middle of a description of the judgement, and, according to him, should be inserted with the other signs in chap. 5.

<sup>3</sup> See Bousset, *Antichrist*, 166 f., who quotes to this effect passages from later Christian Apocalypses, which however very probably go back to an original Jewish source.

'the voice of the archangel' in 1 Thessalonians and in the word *σαλπίζει* in 1 Corinthians. Rabbinic tradition spoke of a series of seven trumpet-calls. The treatise *Othioth* of R. Akiba gives the following picture, 'The Holy One takes a great trumpet which according to divine measure is 1000 ells long, and blows upon it, and its sound will go from one end of the earth to the other. At the first blast the whole world will be moved, at the second the dust will fall asunder, at the third will the bones of the dead be collected, at the fourth their members will be warmed, at the fifth the flesh will be drawn over them, at the sixth the souls and the spirits enter their bodies, at the seventh they will live and stand upon their feet in their clothing.'<sup>1</sup> Though such speculations may well have been known to St. Paul, there is no reason to think that in 1 Corinthians 'the last trump' means the last of a series; as mention is made of one trumpet-blast only in the earlier Epistle, the phrase probably means no more than the trumpet which shall usher in the end of the world. In 1 Thess. it is doubtful whether we should regard the *κέλευσμα*, the *φωνή ἀρχαγγέλου* and the *σάλπιγξ θεοῦ* as distinct summonses or as identical.<sup>2</sup> As the *ἀρχάγγελος* is generally associated with the trumpet, and *φωνή* is the regular word for a trumpet-call (Apoc. 8. 13, etc.), they should probably be identified. The summons (*κέλευσμα*) is given by the trumpet of God which is sounded by the archangel. An interesting parallel for the use of

<sup>1</sup> Weber, 369. Cf. the seven trumpet-blasts in the Apocalypse, where each blast is blown by one of the seven angels who stand before God (8. 2-11. 15). In Matt. 24. 31 a number of angels are represented as being sent forth to gather together the elect with the sound of a trumpet.

<sup>2</sup> Kabisch (*Esch.* 238 f.) identifies them; Teichmann (22 f.) distinguishes them.





κελευσμα is given by Lightfoot (*in loc.*) from Philo, *de Praem. et poen.* § 19. ii. 427, ἀνθρώπους ἐν ἐσχατιαῖς ἀποκισμένους ῥαδίως ἂν ἐνὶ κελεύσματι συναγάγοι Θεὸς ἀπὸ περάτων.

The idea that the dead will arise in their earthly bodies which will undergo no change (as St. Paul in this early Epistle seems to imply) is illustrated by the passages from 2 Esdras and Baruch quoted above (in Baruch the risen dead undergo a change at a period subsequent to the resurrection), and by *Or. Sib.* iv. 180 ff., Ὅσπερ καὶ σποδὴν αὐτὸς θεὸς ἔμπαλιν ἀνδρῶν | Μορφώσει, στήσει δὲ βρότους πάλιν ὡς πάρος ἦσαν.<sup>1</sup>

In this, the earliest Pauline account of the resurrection, we have seen then that the predominating thought, the nearness of Christ's coming, finds an echo in and may have been partly occasioned by the current Jewish expectation of the coming of the Messiah; that the term 'the survivors' was one in use among Jews for those who outlived the final woes and witnessed that coming; that the Jewish idea of a greater blessedness being in store for these survivors is present to St. Paul's mind and is contradicted by him; that he retains the Jewish metaphor of sleep in the grave to describe the state of the dead, and the Jewish idea of a trumpet as ushering in the end.

## II. 1 Corinthians 15.

This great chapter on the resurrection falls into the following sections: (1) The infallible proofs of Christ's resurrection 1-11, (2) Christ's resurrection involves man's resurrection 12-22, (3) the order of events at

<sup>1</sup> Teichmann, 38.

the end and the reign of Christ 23-28, (4) two proofs derived from human conduct for man's resurrection 29-34, (5) the nature of the resurrection-body and the triumph of life over death 35-58. We shall here have to deal only with the third and the fifth of these sections, which we will take in the reverse order.

The entirely new element which meets us in this chapter is the necessity for the transformation of the earthly body before it can inherit immortality. In 1 Thessalonians we saw that no change was spoken of or apparently contemplated. St. Paul had now to answer the direct question put to him by the Corinthians, 'How are the dead raised and with what body do they come?' This difficulty he meets as follows. He first cites the instance of the grain of corn which is sown a bare grain and dies and rises with a new body given to it by God. In verse 38 *b* he passes to a new thought, the variety of existences in the world, human and animal, earthly and heavenly, and the varying degrees of glory possessed by the different members of each class of existence; by which he intends to show the infinite forms of creation which God is able to bring into being and the possibility of His creating an entirely new form of body at the resurrection. He next, by a Rabbinical mode of interpretation, deduces from Genesis 2. 7 (or perhaps from a combination of that verse with Gen. 1. 27)<sup>1</sup> the necessity for a two-fold existence of man, a natural or psychical followed by a heavenly existence; the natural existence has already taken place and the other must inevitably follow. He then makes the emphatic statement which distinguishes this picture of

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 44 ff.



the resurrection from that in 1 Thessalonians, that 'flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, neither does corruption inherit incorruption.' The expectation of the nearness of the second coming is retained: the sleep of death is not for all, but all, whether living or dead, must undergo a change. 'The dead shall be raised incorruptible and we (the living) shall be changed. For this corruptible must put on incorruption and this mortal must put on immortality.' The final paean of the triumph of life over death is expressed in language borrowed from Isaiah and Hosea.

St. Paul arrived at his conviction that a change was necessary before man could inherit immortality through a profound sense of the contrast between *σάρξ* and *πνεῦμα* and a feeling of the close connexion, if not the actual inseparableness, of *σάρξ* and *ἀμαρτία*. Into the question of the origin of this antithesis of *σάρξ* and *πνεῦμα* and St. Paul's anthropology generally, we cannot now enter. The antithesis has been traced by many commentators not to a purely Jewish, but to a Hellenistic source, namely to dualism or the belief that matter is essentially evil; but the theory that St. Paul held the dualistic ideas of Hellenism may now be said to have been generally abandoned.<sup>1</sup>

We find one striking parallel to St. Paul's account of the transformation of the risen body in a Jewish Palestinian work of the end of the first century, which we must here quote at length. It is in the Apocalypse of Baruch, chaps. 49-51. The question as to the nature of the resurrection-body is put by Baruch to the Almighty in

The metamorphosis of dead and living.

Parallel in the Apocalypse of Baruch.

<sup>1</sup> S.-H., 181.

much the same form as the question of the Corinthians to St. Paul,<sup>1</sup> (49): "'In what shape will those live who live in Thy day? or how will the splendour of those who (are) after that time continue? Will they then resume this form of the present, and put on these entrammeling members, which are now involved in evils, and in which evils are consummated, or wilt Thou perchance change these things which have been in the world as also the world?' (50) And He answered and said unto me: 'Hear, Baruch, this word and write in the remembrance of thy heart all that thou shalt learn. For the earth will then assuredly restore the dead, which it now receives, in order to preserve them, *making no change in their form*, but as it has received so will it restore them, and as I delivered them unto it, so shall it raise them. For then it will be necessary to show to the living that the dead have come to life again, and that those who had departed have returned (again). And it will come to pass, when they have severally recognised those whom they now know, then judgement will grow strong, and those things which before were spoken of will come. (51) And it will come to pass that when that appointed day has gone by, that *then shall the aspect of those who are condemned be afterwards changed, and the glory of those who are justified*. For the aspect of those who now act wickedly will become worse than is that of such as suffer torment. Also (as for) the glory of those who have now been justified in My law, who have had understanding in their life, and who have planted in their heart the root of wisdom, then their splendour will be glorified in changes, and the form of their face

<sup>1</sup> Charles' translation has been used.



will be turned into the light of their beauty, *that they may be able to acquire and receive the world which does not die*, which is then promised to them." The writer proceeds to expatiate on the transformation of the evil and the good. "They will respectively be transformed, the latter into the splendour of the angels, and the former will mainly waste away in wonder at the visions and in the beholding of the forms." But those who shall behold the world which is now invisible to them "shall be made like unto the angels, *and be made equal to the stars*, and they shall be changed into every form they desire, from beauty into loveliness, and from light into the splendour of glory."<sup>1</sup> "Moreover there will then be excellency in the righteous surpassing that in the angels."

We here encounter an exceptionally spiritual view of the resurrection in a Jewish writing. The resemblances presented to St. Paul's account in 1 Corinthians are: (1) A transformation of both dead and living takes place. (2) This transformation is necessary in order that they may be assimilated to and fitted for the world which is invisible and everlasting. Here we have the same idea as in 'mortal must put on immortality,' 'corruption doth not inherit incorruption.' (3) The various grades of glory through which the righteous shall pass resemble the passage from 2 Cor. quoted in the footnote, and the comparison of their glory to that of the stars may be illustrated by 1 Cor. 15. 41. On the other hand we note these differences from St. Paul: (1) the change does not take place at the moment of the resurrection, but at a subsequent period when the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 2 Cor. 3. 18, μεταμορφούμεθα ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν.

Day of Judgement has passed. This delay in the transformation is to ensure the recognition of the risen dead by the living. (2) A resurrection of the wicked is spoken of and a corresponding transformation or degradation of their appearance; St. Paul is silent on this subject. (3) The judgement is not mentioned in this connexion by St. Paul.

A passage in the Rabbinical treatise *Bereshith Rabba* (95) should be quoted in connexion with the Baruch passage. It is there stated that the Holy One will heal in the future world every-  
Other parallels to St. Paul's doctrine.  
 thing which He has stricken in this: man rises indeed with his old infirmities, blindness, lameness, etc., *in order that his identity may be established*, but these deficiencies are then immediately made good.<sup>1</sup> A partial glorification of the earthly body is here implied. Other allusions<sup>2</sup> to this transformation are 4 Macc. 9. 22, where it is said of one of the sons of Eleazar when undergoing persecution that ὥσπερ ἐν πυρὶ μετασχηματίζόμενος εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν ὑπέμεινεν εὐγενῶς τὰς στρέβλας (cf. Phil. 3. 21): and passages in Ethiopic Enoch which speak of the risen righteous as 'becoming angels in heaven' (51. 4), as being clothed with garments of glory (62. 15), and being transformed and clad in shining light (108. 11, 12). The earliest mention of the transformation, which has doubtless influenced later writings is Dan. 12. 2, 3, which speaks of the resurrection to everlasting life and to everlasting contempt, when 'they that be wise shall

<sup>1</sup> Weber, 370. The same treatise (*Ber. Rab.* 28) speaks of the resurrection-body being built up out of a small fragment of the backbone which remains indestructible.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Teichmann.



shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever.'

It must, however, be remembered that the Baruch passage above-quoted by no means represents the normal Rabbinic view of the resurrection. Beside the more spiritual view of the future world, another and perhaps a commoner view prevailed, which represented it as merely a continuation of the material enjoyments of the present life, in which eating, drinking, and marriage go on as before; Behemoth and Leviathan are reserved as the food for the righteous in that future age.<sup>1</sup> Clearly such materialistic views of the future life did not require any transformation of man's mortal body before he could enter into the enjoyment of it. It may, however, be reasonably inferred from the Baruch passage, which though later than St. Paul is apparently uninfluenced by Christian views, that the more spiritually-minded of Jewish thinkers in the time of St. Paul were familiar with the conception of a transfigured resurrection-body, and that 'to some extent the Pauline teaching on the resurrection was not an innovation, but an able and developed exposition of ideas that were current in the Judaism of the time.'<sup>2</sup>

Two of the figures which St. Paul uses in connexion with the resurrection may here receive illustration. In the first place, the metaphor of the grain was apparently already in use among the Rabbis as a proof

<sup>1</sup> Weber, 402. 2 Esd. 6. 52. Bar. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Charles, *Baruch*, p. 82, note in *loc.* The question with which the Baruch passage opens (49. 2) is, however, placed by him among the passages where the text of the book 'is dependent on the N.T. or on some lost common source' (p. lxxviii. f.).

or an illustration of the resurrection. We find it at any rate in later Rabbinical treatises, where, however, the contrast between the bare grain sown in the earth and the full flower is used to support the puerile fancy that the dead will arise in the clothes in which they were buried. 'The corn issues from the earth not naked but clothed: how much more the body of man' (*Sanhedrin*, 90 b). Rabbis on their death-bed consequently gave express injunctions about their grave-clothes.<sup>1</sup> The clothing which St. Paul has in mind (verses 53, 54, 2 C. 5. 2-4) is the new spiritual body which is to be received from God: the nakedness (2 C. 5. 3) which he elsewhere fears is that of the disembodied spirit before receiving its new body. We may perhaps trace here the spiritualising of a metaphor which was employed in a more material sense in Rabbinic circles.

The metaphor of clothing which St. Paul applies here and in 2 Corinthians to the entrance upon the state of immortality finds a parallel in the 'garments of glory' or 'of light' in which Jewish writers speak of the risen dead as being clad; *Slav. En.* 22. 8, 'Take from Enoch his earthly robe . . . and clothe him with the raiment of My glory'; *Eth. En.* 62. 15, 16, 'garments of glory . . . garments of life'; 108. 12; cf. also Apoc. John 3. 4, 5, etc., and 2 Esd. 2. 39, 'splendidas tunicas a domino acceperunt.' Sometimes these garments of glory, by which are intended the glorified bodies awaiting the righteous dead, are spoken of as pre-

Metaphor of clothing, and the expression 'giving of a body' (verse 38).

<sup>1</sup> Weber, 370. Teichmann (p. 46) refers also to Kethuboth 111 b for this fancy. Our Lord's words in John 12. 24, *ἐὰν μὴ ὁ κόκκος τοῦ σίτου πεσῶν εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀποθάνῃ, αὐτὸς μόνος μένει· ἐὰν δὲ ἀποθάνῃ, πολλὸν καρπὸν φέρει*, present a striking parallel to 1 C. 15. 36, 37.





existent in heaven. The clearest instances of this idea occur in the *Ascension of Isaiah*, which is, as we saw, a combination of Jewish and Christian materials made not later than the second century. We there read, 4. 16, 'Sancti autem cum domino venient cum vestibus suis quae supra repositae sunt in septimo coelo'; 11. 40, 'vestes vestras in septimo coelo repositas,' etc. It is possible that this idea of a pre-existent heavenly body prepared for the righteous was present to the mind of St. Paul when he spoke of 'God giving to the seed a body as he willed,' though no stress can be laid on this point.

In the earlier part of this fifteenth chapter of 1 Corinthians (verses 20-28) occurs the one passage in St. Paul which may be thought to approximate to the belief in a millennium, and which at any rate appears to stand in a close relation to current Jewish ideas as to the end. The passage is a very vexed one, and the difficulties attaching to its interpretation are hardly less than those which are met with in the section dealing with the heavenly and the earthly man in this same chapter. It is necessary to form a clear idea as to the order of events, which is slightly inverted in St. Paul's description of them. In the first place, a universal resurrection appears to be spoken of. 'As in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive' (verse 22). The πάντες in the first clause is certainly meant to have a universal application; and there seems to be no sufficient reason for limiting its meaning, as many commentators do, in the second clause to those who are Christ's. It is true that the Apostle is not here specially concerned with the resurrection of unbelievers. Then, there are various stages in the resurrection.

The reign of Christ and the Messianic reign.

Each man rises in his own τάγμα, a word which is derived from military language, and may best be rendered by 'corps' or 'troop.'<sup>1</sup> First comes the historical resurrection of Christ, then (ἐπειτα) after an interval of uncertain length, the resurrection of 'those who are Christ's' at His second coming, then (εἴτα) after another interval comes 'the end.' But between the resurrection of οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ and 'the end' there intervenes a reign of Christ. This reign of Christ is occupied with the final destruction of all that is opposed to God ('every principality and every authority and power'), the last enemy to be destroyed being death, and 'the end' is ushered in by the delivery of the kingdom over to God the Father and the subjection of the Son.

Two inferences may then, in the opinion of the present writer, be legitimately drawn from this passage. (1) The resurrection of those who are Christ's is not 'the end,' but is succeeded by a reign of Christ, and the future age only begins at the close of this reign. The sequence ἀπαρχὴ . . . ἐπειτα . . . εἴτα seems to require an interval between the second and the third points or stages alluded to, as there is undoubtedly an interval between the first and the second. If we may judge from similarly constructed sentences in St. Paul, εἴτα cannot refer to a period of time simultaneous with that

<sup>1</sup> It is used in Xenophon and Polybius for a 'division' or 'brigade,' constantly in the latter writer, sometimes to represent the Latin 'manipulus' (6. 24. 5). So too in Josephus, *B.J.* i. 9. 1, iii. 4. 2; in *B.J.* ii. 8. 3 it is used of the 'order' or 'sect' of the Sadducees (Σαδδουκαῖοι δὲ τὸ δεύτερον τάγμα). In the LXX it always has a military sense, meaning either a 'standard' (in Numbers, e.g. 2. 2), 'a body of foot-soldiers' (e.g. 1 S. 4. 10), or simply 'a troop' (2 S. 23. 13). Cf. also the use of the word in the 1st Ep. of Clement 37. 3 (41. 1), who is borrowing from St. Paul, οὐ πάντες εἰσιν ἐπαρχοὶ οὐδὲ χιλιάρχοι . . . ἀλλ' ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπιτέλει.



which is indicated by *ἐπειτα*.<sup>1</sup> (2) If the resurrection is to extend to all (verse 22), and the resurrection at the coming of Christ is limited to those who are Christ's, St. Paul seems to hint at a second and later resurrection of those who in this life did not believe in Christ. The words 'each in his own order' (*ἐκαστος ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι*—the insertion of *ἰδίῳ* serves to isolate the several *τάγματα*) also appear to indicate a plurality of *τάγματα*. The word *τάγμα* in its literal sense is hardly applicable to Christ's resurrection, which was the resurrection of One Person only and not of a company: although, in the metaphorical sense, which seems to have become common, it might be so applied (see note on last page). St. Paul, then, without entering further into the subject, seems to imply a resurrection of another *τάγμα* (the unbelievers) falling during or at the close of the reign of Christ, shortly before the final consummation. It is true that elsewhere in his Epistles St. Paul generally maintains a silence as to the question whether there is to be a resurrection of unbelievers, although his belief in such a resurrection is sufficiently indicated by Rom. 2. 5 f., 1 C. 6. 2, and 11. 32;<sup>2</sup> but the above seems to be a legitimate inference arrived at by the exegesis of this passage taken by itself.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 15. 5-8, *ὡφθῃ Κηφᾶ, εἶτα [ἐπειτα] . . . ἐπειτα . . . ἐπειτα . . . εἶτα [ἐπειτα]*. In the following passages we have *πρῶτον* (-τος) . . . *εἶτα (ἐπειτα)*: 1 Thess. 4. 17, 1 C. 15. 46, 1 Tim. 2. 13, 3. 10. In all these instances the order is chronological; in 1 C. 12. 28 (*πρῶτον . . . δεύτερον . . . τρίτον . . . ἐπειτα . . . ἐπειτα [εἶτα]*) the order is one of eminence or dignity.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Acts 24. 15, *ἐλπίδα ἔχων . . . ἀνάστασιν μέλλειν ἔσσεσθαι δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων*; and our Lord's words in Luke 14. 14 (*ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει τῶν δικαίων*) and John 5. 29 (*εἰς ἀνάστασιν ζωῆς . . . εἰς ἀνάστασιν κρίσεως*). The ordinary Jewish view was certainly that the resurrection was a privilege reserved for the righteous and was part of their reward (Weber, 390 ff.). And this view appears in Phil. 3. 11, *ὡς καταστήσω εἰς τὴν ἐξανάστασιν τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν*.

We must now endeavour to reconstruct a picture of the reign of Messiah and the beginning of the future age as it was conceived by Jewish writers of the time. There was naturally a considerable variety of views as to the course of events, especially with regard to the transition from the reign of Messias to the future age (*עולם הבא*); still a fairly consistent picture may be drawn. In the forefront come the signs of the end, the tribulations or woes of the Messiah which occupy a place in all accounts of the end. These are followed by the appearance of Messiah and his reign on earth. The resurrection of the just apparently takes place at the beginning of this reign: it is a privilege reserved for Israel.<sup>1</sup> The predominant feature in the reign of Messiah is the exaltation of Israel above the enemies which have oppressed it in this world. According to the Rabbinic writers the reign begins with the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the Temple and ends with the destruction of the last enemies,<sup>2</sup> described in the language of Ezekiel as Gog and Magog.<sup>3</sup> The kingdom of the Messiah is to be universal and to take the place of the fourth world-power, namely the Roman Empire.<sup>4</sup> 'Every nation which knows not Israel and has not trodden down the seed of Jacob shall indeed be spared. And this because some out of every nation will be subjected to thy people. But all those who have ruled over you, or have known you, shall be given up to the sword.'<sup>5</sup> In the *Assumption of Moses* the vengeance upon Israel's enemies is spoken of at one time as the

The Jewish picture of the Messianic reign and the end.

<sup>1</sup> Weber, 368, 390.

<sup>2</sup> Are there instances of the Rabbinical use of the phrase 'the last enemies'?

<sup>3</sup> Weber, 371 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 382, Baruch, 39.

<sup>5</sup> Baruch, 72.



work of the angel (Michael), and a little later as the work of God Himself.<sup>1</sup> But the vengeance is generally regarded as being inflicted by the Messiah. The war with the world-powers ends, in most of the accounts, with a final gathering of the nations (Gog and Magog) to attack the Messiah, and their overthrow at His hands. They are led by a person who is spoken of sometimes as 'the last leader,'<sup>2</sup> sometimes as Armilus (a corruption either of Romulus, or of ἑρμύλαος),<sup>3</sup> who is to be the incarnation of all iniquity (cf. the picture of 'the man of sin' in 2 Thess. 2). To meet the powers of this last leader the ten lost tribes will return from the lands in which they have hitherto been scattered (Arzareth = 'another land' in 2 Esd. 13. 45), and will join themselves to the Messiah, who will stand on Mount Zion and convict the leader and his host of their iniquities and then destroy them.<sup>4</sup> The destruction of death and of Satan also forms part of the final victory of the Messiah. 'Et requiescet seculum, et exstinguetur mors et infernus claudet os suum';<sup>5</sup> 'And then His kingdom will appear throughout all His creation, and then Satan will be no more and sorrow will depart with him';<sup>6</sup> 'they will all complete their days in peace and joy and live without a Satan or other corrupter'; 'no Satan nor any evil one shall oppose Israel, and the earth shall be pure from thenceforth for ever.'<sup>7</sup>

The duration of the Messianic age is variously given. In a quite unique passage in 2 Esdras it is represented as lasting for 400 years, at the end of which time the

<sup>1</sup> Ass. Mos., 10. 2-8.

<sup>2</sup> 'Dux ultimus,' Bar. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Weber, 365, 387.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Esd. 13, Bar. 40.

<sup>5</sup> Pseudo-Philo Ant. Bibl. liber (*Mikropresbutikon*, p. 296).

<sup>6</sup> Ass. Mos., 10. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Jub., 23, 50.

Messiah dies with all who drew breath, and the earth returns to its primaeval silence for seven days, which are followed by the beginning of the new age with the resurrection and judgement.<sup>1</sup> According to other accounts the Messianic reign was to last for 40, 600, 1000, or 2000 years, or for three generations.<sup>2</sup> It is regarded both as the end of the present age and the beginning of the future age; the exact point of transition from the one into the other is not always definitely fixed.<sup>3</sup> It is a time of general material prosperity and of fruitfulness of nature, when the vine will bear a thousand branches and manna will descend and Behemoth and Leviathan will be given to be food for the saints.<sup>4</sup> The new age in most accounts begins with a world-judgement, with which is sometimes connected a resurrection; the latter event is thus variously placed at the beginning or end of the Messianic age. For the latter view we have the passage in 2 Esdras 7 referred to above, and Bar. 30, 'When the time of the advent of the Messiah is fulfilled (as contrasted with the time when "the Messiah will begin to be revealed," 29. 3), and He will return in glory (? to heaven, so Charles), then all who have fallen asleep in hope (of Him) shall rise again.' The language here, although it is not free from the suspicion of Christian interpolation,<sup>5</sup> bears a striking resemblance to that of St. Paul, as does also the picture of the bliss which will succeed the final victory of the Messiah over His enemies in the last passage

<sup>1</sup> 7. 28-44.

<sup>2</sup> Weber, 372 f.

<sup>3</sup> Bar. 74, 'For that time is the consummation of that which is corruptible and the beginning of that which is not corruptible.'

<sup>4</sup> Bar. 29, Weber, 381.

<sup>5</sup> Probably the words 'and He will return in glory' and 'of Him' are interpolations.



which we will quote: 'And it will come to pass when He has brought low everything that is in the world, and has sat down in peace for the age on the throne of His kingdom, that joy will then be revealed and rest appear.'<sup>1</sup>

We can hardly fail to recognize that these Jewish pictures of the end have to a certain extent, however remotely, influenced and formed the framework of St. Paul's language in this eschatological section in Cor. 15. 20-28.

Comparison of the Jewish and Pauline conceptions of the end.

(1) We have in St. Paul a universal reign of Christ as distinguished from the final reign of God the Father. So in the Jewish accounts we have a reign of Messiah preceding the future age.

(2) The purpose of this reign of Christ is, as in the Jewish accounts, the destruction of the last enemies of God's people.

(3) The resurrection of the just falls at the beginning of this reign, as in several of the Jewish accounts, but there is a hint of a second and later resurrection towards the close of the reign, a position which the resurrection also occupies in other Jewish works.

(4) The judgement, though not mentioned here by St. Paul, must succeed the resurrection of the believers, who, we are told elsewhere, are to be assessors at it (1 C. 6. 2-3). In the Jewish accounts the judgement closes the Messianic reign, and the saints are assessors at it.

On the other hand, the differences between the Pauline and the Jewish pictures are no less clearly marked:

(1) The enemies are no longer the earthly enemies

<sup>1</sup> Bar. 73.

of Israel, but the spiritual powers of wickedness in heavenly places with which the Christian is at war. Christ's triumph over these forces was partially completed on the Cross (Col. 2. 15): by His Resurrection and Ascension God raised Him above them (Eph. 1. 20-22, where the same passages from the Psalms [110. 1 and 8. 6] are referred to as here); but their final subjection and annihilation (*καταργεῖν*) is reserved until 'the end.'

(2) The reign of Christ is not an earthly kingdom blessed with material prosperity.

(3) There is nothing in Jewish writings corresponding to the great conception of the final surrendering of the kingdom and the subjection of the Son to the Father.

We may note, lastly, that, if the passage in 1 C. 15 has been correctly interpreted, the order of events there given does not differ widely from that described in a work which, whatever its origin, bears an unmistakably Jewish stamp—the Apocalypse of St. John. The order of events in that work is as follows:

Comparison of St. Paul and the Apocalypse of St. John.

*The millennium.*—Satan bound for 1000 years. Those who had not worshipped the beast lived and reigned with Christ for 1000 years. 'The first resurrection.' The rest of the dead lived not until the end of the 1000 years (20. 2-6).

*The last enemies.*—Satan loosed for a short time to deceive the nations and to gather them to the war. Destruction of the enemies and casting of Satan into the lake of fire (20. 7-10).

*The judgement.*—Death and Hades cast into the lake of fire (20. 11-15).





*The future world.*—New heaven and earth. The new Jerusalem (21).

Before leaving 1 Corinthians, we may note in passing two not uninteresting verbal coincidences,

Two verbal parallels with St. Paul.

which seem to show that even in giving expression to the thought of the futility of this life without a future resurrection,

St. Paul was using the language of his time. (1) With 1 C. 15. 19 compare Baruch 21. 13, 'For if there were this life only which here belongs to all men, nothing could be more bitter than this.'<sup>1</sup> (2) With 1 C. 15. 30, 'Why do we also stand in jeopardy every hour?' compare 2 Esd. 7. 89, 'In eo tempore commoratae servierunt cum labore Altissimo et omni hora sustinuerunt periculum, uti perfecte custodirent legislatoris legem.'<sup>2</sup>

### III. Later views of the end in 2 Corinthians and Philippians.

The only other passage where St. Paul treats the subject of eschatology at any length is 2 Cor. 4. 16–5. 10; and a change or development in the views here expressed is at once apparent. The most noticeable point is that man is represented as passing immediately at the moment of death into the presence of Christ. Nothing is here said of an intermediate state of sleep as in 1 Thessalonians, nothing of a waiting for the change which will take place at the moment of the coming of Christ as in 1 Corinthians. In the place of this we read,<sup>3</sup> 'we know that if the earthly house of our

<sup>1</sup> Charles says, 'this verse may be drawn from 1 C. 15. 19, or else both from a common source.' In view of the general character of the book, the former alternative does not seem probable, unless the verse is a later Christian interpolation.

<sup>2</sup> In the preceding verse we have a Pauline phrase, 'quando separari incipiunt a vaso corruptibili' (cf. 2 C. 4. 7, 1 C. 15. 53, 54).

<sup>3</sup> 5. 1, 6–8.

tabernacle be dissolved, we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens'; 'knowing that whilst we are at home in the body we are absent from the Lord . . . we are of good courage, and desire rather to be absent from the body and to be at home with the Lord.' That the union of the soul with Christ takes place immediately after its separation from the body is still more explicitly stated in Phil. 1. 23, 'I am in a strait betwixt two, having the desire to depart and be with Christ (τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔχων εἰς τὸ ἀναλῦσαι καὶ σὺν Χριστῷ εἶναι), for it is very far better.' The building from God which awaits the soul is already prepared for it in heaven (ἔχομεν), and is entered upon at the moment of death. This language shows a wide departure from that used in 1 Thessalonians, where the sleeping dead are not apparently regarded as in the presence of Christ, for it is only at the sound of the trumpet that they are caught up to meet Him in the air. Again the future life is more spiritually conceived, and instead of the idea of a glorified resurrection-body which we meet with in 1 Cor., we here seem to approach the doctrine of the immortality of the soul apart from the body. 'Our outward man' (the body) decays, but our inner man (the spirit) is daily renewed. The body is a burden weighing down the soul (5. 4). The spirit which God has given us is the earnest of our resurrection (5. 5).

Two influences appear to have been at work in producing this altered aspect in the Apostle's views on eschatology.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See E. Grafe, *Das verhältniss der paulinischen Schriften zum Sap. Sal.*, in Theolog. Abhandlungen C. von Weizsäcker . . . gewidmet (1892): Teichmann, 57–75: Pfeleiderer, *Paulinismus*, 284 ff.



The first of these was undoubtedly the experience through which he had recently passed. The interval between the writing of the two Corinthian letters was one of the most anxious periods in the Apostle's life. Whatever be the meaning of the fighting with beasts at Ephesus to which he alludes in the first letter, he had clearly been more than once in danger of his life during the latter part of his stay in that city, at the time of and immediately after the despatch of the first letter. His depression of mind was increased by his anxiety about the Corinthian Church and his failing to find Titus at Troas (2 C. 2. 13). The second letter is full of allusions to his afflictions. 'We would not have you ignorant concerning our affliction which befel us in Asia, that we were weighed down exceedingly, beyond our power, insomuch that we despaired even of life; yea we ourselves have had the answer (or sentence) of death within ourselves' (1. 8, 9). 'We have this treasure in earthen vessels' (4. 7). 'We which are alive are always delivered unto death for Jesus' sake' (4. 11). 'Afflicted on every side—without fightings, within fears' (7. 5). On three occasions he enumerates the perils through which he had passed.<sup>1</sup> The depression caused by these afflictions, many of them fresh in his mind, will account largely for the altered aspect in which the state after death is regarded. The language is that of a man who is looking death in the face, and who does not expect to live to witness the coming of his Lord. The joyful expectation of the speedy coming of Christ which we find in 1 Thessalonians is now given up, and the Apostle's thoughts are earnestly

<sup>1</sup> 4. 8-11, 6. 4-10, 11. 23-28.

turned to the state of the soul immediately after its departure from the body, a subject which in the earlier Epistles occupies a quite subordinate position. He shrinks from the idea of a 'nakedness' of the soul after death, and a separation, for however short a period, from the Lord. It is possible that we may see the germ of this idea of 'nakedness' in the metaphor of the γυμνὸς κόκκος in 1 Corinthians, and that further reflection or possibly a question of the Corinthians had led him to correct the inference to which that metaphor might lead, that the soul was for any length of time to be naked and absent from the Lord.

But the personal sufferings of the Apostle, of which we find some traces already in the earlier letter, are not sufficient by themselves to explain the altered point of view. The other influence which may here be traced is that of Hellenistic literature and the Book of Wisdom in particular. We shall see elsewhere<sup>2</sup> the convincing reasons which have been adduced to prove the Apostle's acquaintance with that book. The grounds for tracing a connexion with it in the present passage are as follows.

(a) *The metaphor of the earthly tabernacle and the idea of the body weighing down the soul.* In Wisdom 9. 15 we read φθαρτὸν γὰρ σῶμα βαρύνει ψυχὴν καὶ βρίθει τὸ γεῶδες σκῆνος νοῦν πολυφρόντιδα. Now, as Grafe<sup>2</sup> points out, the metaphor of a tent for the body was widespread among Greek philosophers (Pythagoreans and Platonists), and the view that the body is a burden or prison to the soul (σῶμα σῆμα) was a

<sup>1</sup> pp. 223 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit.



common one with Platonists and Stoics, and was a fundamental idea of the Alexandrian philosophy. It would not therefore be necessary to infer from the use of similar language in St. Paul anything more than a general acquaintance on his part with Alexandrian literature. But the occurrence of the same expressions (*ἐπίγειος-γεῶδες*: *σκῆνος*: *βαρέω-βαρύνω*) in conjunction points to a literary connexion. And this supposition is borne out by other noticeable parallels between the two passages. These are the use of *εὐάρεστος* (W. 9. 10, 2 C. 5. 9), and W. 9. 16, *καὶ μόλις εἰκάζομεν τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς* compared with 2 C. 5. 6, 'we walk by faith, not by sight.' The word *σκῆνος* is confined in Biblical Greek to these two passages.

(b) *The idea of an immortality of the soul.* As a literary connexion is practically established between the two passages quoted above, it is reasonable to suppose that St. Paul's language is influenced by other passages in the same book. Now that book, in keeping with the general doctrine of Alexandrian philosophy, does not teach a resurrection of the body, but regards the righteous as immortal and holds that the soul immediately after death is united with God. 'Righteousness is immortal,' 'God created man for incorruption and made him an image of His own proper being,' 'the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God. . . . In the eyes of the foolish they seemed to have died . . . but they are in peace. For even if in the sight of men they be punished, their hope is full of immortality,' 'a righteous man though he die before his time shall be at rest,' 'the righteous live for ever.'<sup>1</sup> The doctrine of Wisdom is, then, that the righteous never really dies,

<sup>1</sup> W. 1. 15, 2. 23, 3. 1 ff., 4. 7, 5. 15.

but his soul passes at death to God. There can be little doubt that these ideas have influenced St. Paul's language. But it is too much to say with Pfeiderer and Teichmann that St. Paul has abandoned the hope of a bodily resurrection as held by Palestinian Judaism for the spiritual immortality of Wisdom and the Alexandrian school. The ideas of a bodily resurrection, of judgement, and of the Parousia were clearly retained by the Apostle to the end of his life.<sup>1</sup> Teichmann's words are (p. 67), "the resurrection of Christians is rendered not only unnecessary by 2 Cor. 5, but quite impossible." He further holds (p. 65 f.) that the judgement of each individual before the tribunal of Christ (2 C. 5. 10) takes place immediately after his death as soon as he enters the heavenly world. These statements are quite unwarranted by St. Paul's language. We should rather say that, in consequence of the Apostle's immediate expectation of death, his idea of the intermediate state receives development; the doctrine of the resurrection is certainly not given up, but here falls into the background. The *language* of Wisdom with regard to the state of the soul after death is drawn upon, but the doctrine of that book of an immortality of the soul to the exclusion of a bodily resurrection is not adopted. The 'building from God, the house not made with hands,' with which the soul is to be clothed may well be another expression for the spiritual body of the earlier letter. St. Paul has not attempted to bring his earlier and his later language into entire agreement. His personal sufferings and the growing conviction that he would not live to witness

<sup>1</sup> 2 C. 1. 9, 4. 14, Phil. 3. 11: 2 C. 5. 10, 2 Tim. 4. 1: 1 Tim. 6. 14, 2 Tim. 4. 8, Tit. 2. 13.



the Parousia, led him to fix his thoughts on the state of the soul immediately after death, and to the assurance that death could not part him from his Lord (cf. Rom. 8. 38), and he then found a support for this belief in the spiritual hopes of the Alexandrian school. "He borrows from Wisdom the form of expression for a conviction of his faith which he had arrived at in quite another way."<sup>1</sup>

(c) *The doctrine of the Spirit.* Another connexion has been traced between St. Paul's language in this passage and the Book of Wisdom. It is said that St. Paul's doctrine of the πνεῦμα and the part which it plays in man's hope of immortality in being an 'earnest' of his resurrection is derived from the language used about σοφία in the apocryphal book. Σοφία is there described as a subtle spirit which penetrates through all spirits, a breath of the power of God and an emanation from His glory, "which reneweth all things (τὰ πάντα καινίζει, cf. ἀνακαινύται, 2 C. 4. 16), and from generation to generation passing into holy souls renders them friends to God and prophets."<sup>2</sup> But this parallel, which should be taken in connexion with St. Paul's other statements with regard to the Holy Spirit, does not bear directly on his eschatology, and as Grafe has shown, the similarity has been exaggerated, and lies in the form only, and not in the matter.

On reviewing the three fundamental passages in which St. Paul dwells on the future life, we find, then, that in the two earlier accounts Rabbinical conceptions of a bodily resurrection with the attendant circumstances of the last trump and the descent of Christ have left their mark on the Apostle's language. In

<sup>1</sup> Grafe, *op. cit.* p. 276.

<sup>2</sup> *Sap. Sal.* 7. 22-27.

the third passage we trace the influence of the more spiritual ideas of Alexandria. It has been suggested that St. Paul's acquaintance with the Book of Wisdom was due to his intercourse with the learned Alexandrian Jew, Apollos; however that may be, it is certain that shortly after the time in which St. Paul came into contact with him, at the time when the letters to the Corinthians and Romans were written (in which the most marked similarities occur), he had made a careful study of that book, the language of which rather largely moulded his forms of expression on certain topics, if it did not actually transform some of his ideas. The combination of the more material views of Rabbinism with the larger and more spiritual views of Alexandria may be considered to be one of the great services which St. Paul rendered to the formulation of Christian doctrine.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Pfleiderer, *Paulinismus*, 284; Teichmann, 74.





## NOTE ON THE MAN OF SIN (2 THESS. II.).

THE question of the meaning of 'the Man of Sin,' 'the son of lawlessness' or 'the opposer,' and the person or force which delays his appearing (2 Thess. 2) is one which has given rise to a great deal of discussion, and is too large a subject for a thorough investigation in this Essay. We will here merely indicate the lines on which recent commentators have sought to arrive at a solution of it. We find a belief existing from the earliest time in the Christian Church of an opponent of Christ, a false Messiah, who is to appear in the last times, to whom St. John gives the name of Antichrist. The hints contained as to his character and appearing in the New Testament are very fragmentary; but the Fathers, from Irenaeus onwards, have a great deal of information about him which is not derived from the N.T. From whence did they get this additional information? Some of the traits which they mention (*e.g.*, that Antichrist is to come of the tribe of Dan, that he is to appear in Jerusalem and to rebuild the Temple) seem to show that they are repeating fragments of a legend which took its rise in Jewish circles. It is urged that the details which they give are generally of too precise and too coherent a character to be the capricious invention of later writers, and must, therefore, have been handed down to them by oral tradition from an earlier age. The theory which is supported by the latest authority on the subject,<sup>1</sup> is that there was a

<sup>1</sup> Bousset, *Der Antichrist* (Göttingen, 1895), following up a suggestion of Gunkel. See also Bousset's article, "Antichrist," in the recent *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, vol. 1. 1899,

very old Jewish dragon myth (derived from Babylonia) of a monster who was to appear at the end of the world and to storm heaven and to assume the attributes of God. Certain parts of this legend were taken over by primitive Christianity from Judaism and became the basis of the doctrine of Antichrist. This doctrine was at various times modified by definite historical events; the attempt of Caligula to set up his statue in the Temple and the belief in the future reappearance of Nero affected subsequent pictures of Antichrist. But the legend was not political in its origin: the expectation of the appearance of a monster of iniquity is older than the Roman Empire. "The *ἀνομος* expectation of 2 Thess. is, therefore, not the capricious invention of an individual, but only the expression of a belief which has had a long history, and which, at that time, was very widely spread."<sup>1</sup>

Whatever we may think of the suggested theory of an original Jewish dragon myth, there can be little doubt that the doctrine of Antichrist has a Jewish background. Jewish tradition, as we have seen, constantly pictured a general apostasy before the end, when the enemies of Israel were to assemble to fight against the Messiah, led by a man who was to be the incarnation of wickedness, who is sometimes spoken of as 'the last leader' (Apoc. Bar. 40), and who with his host will be destroyed by the breath of the Messiah's mouth. The pictures of the last struggle are drawn from the account of Gog and Magog in Ezek. 38, and from the description of Antiochus Epiphanes in Dan. 9 and 11. It is true that there is a lack of early Rabbinical evidence for this monster of iniquity. At a later period in Rabbinical lore he is designated Armilus, and is described as combining in his person all that is opposed to God and all hatred against God's people.<sup>2</sup> The description, though late, could never have been taken over from Christianity into Judaism; the lack of early Rabbinical attestation for the belief is probably due to its being adopted by the Christians and to the important part which it played in their expectation of the second coming of Christ. The apocalyptic literature,

<sup>1</sup> Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* (Göttingen, 1895), pp. 221-225.

<sup>2</sup> Weber, 365 f.



to some extent, supplies us with the early Jewish evidence required. The two earliest notices appear to be:

(1) 2 Esd. 5. 1 ff., where among the signs and wonders that shall precede the end of the world it is mentioned that, after the destruction of the fourth kingdom (Rome),<sup>1</sup> 'one shall reign whom the inhabitants of the earth look not for',<sup>2</sup> at a time of general impiety. The miracles of the sun shining at night and the moon at midday (verse 4) are those which we are elsewhere told that Antichrist shall work.<sup>3</sup>

(2) *Orac. Sibyll.* iii. 60 ff.

60 ἡξει γάρ, ὅπότε ἂν θείου διαβήσεται ὁδμὴ  
 πᾶσιν ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν [ἀτὰρ τὰ ἕκαστ' ἀγορεύουσιν  
 ὅσσαις ἐν πόλεσιν μέρονες κακότητα φέρουσιν.  
 ἐκ δὲ Σεβαστηνῶν] ἡξει Βελίαρ μετόπισθεν  
 καὶ στήσει ὁρέων ὕψος, στήσει δὲ θαλάσσαν,  
 ἡέλιον πυρόεντα μέγαν λαμπρὰν τε σελήνην,  
 καὶ νεκρὰς στήσει καὶ σήματα πολλὰ ποιήσει  
 ἀνθρώποις· ἀλλ' αὐχὶ τελευφόρα ἔσσει' ἐν αὐτῷ  
 ἀλλὰ πλάνα, καὶ δι' ἡμερόπας πόλλους τε πλανήσει  
 πιστοὺς τ' ἐκλεκτοὺς θ' Ἑβραίους ἀνόμους τε καὶ ἄλλους  
 70 ἀνέρας, οἳ τινες οὐ πω θεοῦ λόγον εἰσήκουσαν.  
 ἀλλ' ὅπότε ἂν μέγαλοιο θεοῦ πελάσωσιν ἀπειλαί  
 καὶ δύναμις φλογέσσα δι' οἰδματος ἐς γαῖαν ἡξει,  
 καὶ Βελίαρ φλέξει καὶ ὑπερφιάλους ἀνθρώπους  
 πάντας, ὅσοι τούτῳ πίστιν ἐνεποιήσαντο.  
 καὶ τότε δι' ἡμᾶς κόσμος ὑπαὶ παλάμῃσι γυναικὸς  
 ἔσσειται ἀρχόμενος καὶ πειθόμενος περὶ παντός.

The bulk of this book of the *Sibylline Oracles* goes back to the second century B.C. The first 96 lines are, however, later. The date of the particular section from which these words are quoted is fixed with tolerable certainty to about 40-30 B.C. by a clear allusion just before the lines quoted to the first Roman triumvirate (lines 51-2), and to Cleopatra

<sup>1</sup> 5. 4, 'et videbis post tertiam turbatam' ('post tertiam' is apparently the rendering of τὴν μετὰ τὴν τρίτην, sc. βασιλείαν).

<sup>2</sup> 5. 6, 'regnabit quem non sperant qui inhabitant super terram.'

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 2 Esd. 5. 4, 'et relucescet subito sol noctu et luna interdum with *Asc. Is.* 4. 5, 'et ejus verbo orietur sol noctu et luna quoque ut sexta hora appareat efficiet.'

in lines 75 and 76 above and the subsequent lines: the end of the world is expected immediately. There appears to be no reason to doubt that the account of Beliar given above is pre-Christian. The mention of the Σεβαστηνοί (apparently = the Augustan dynasty) is a difficulty, but 'may safely be laid to the account of a later interpolator,'<sup>1</sup> the two broken lines bracketed above being cut out. If this date is correct, we have a striking illustration of the Jewish view of the 'lying wonders' which are, according to St. Paul, to be wrought by the man of sin. The account of Antichrist (= Nero) in the *Ascension of Isaiah*, chap. 4, which, although worked over by a Christian hand, rests upon a basis of Jewish matter, should also be taken into consideration.

In the New Testament the traces of the Beliar or Antichrist legend are to be found in the section dealing with 'the abomination of desolation' in our Lord's eschatological speech in Matt. 24 and the parallel accounts, the 1st and 2nd Epistles of St. John,<sup>2</sup> chapters 11-13 of the Apocalypse, and the passage in 2 Thessalonians. A comparison of the quite independent allusions in 2 Thessalonians and in the Epistles of St. John brings out the following points:

(1) It is understood that the meaning of the names 'man of sin,' 'the son of perdition,' 'the Antichrist,' 'the deceiver,' will be at once intelligible to the readers without further explanation. The passages point therefore to the existence of a fixed tradition on the subject.

(2) The doctrine was esoteric, delivered orally, and only with hesitation alluded to in writing. St. Paul breaks off his description with the words, 'Remember ye not that when I was with you I told you these things' (2. 5). St. John twice says, 'Ye have heard that Antichrist cometh' (1 John 2. 18, 4. 3).

(3) Both writers, using the legend for practical purposes, speak of the power of Antichrist (or the mystery of lawlessness) being already at work in the world (2 Thess. 2. 7, 1 John 2. 18, 4. 3).

<sup>1</sup> Schürer, *H.J.P.*, ii. 3. 283 f.

<sup>2</sup> 1 John 2. 18-22, 4. 3; 2 John 4. 7.



The apparent reason for the legend being to some extent taken over from Judaism by Christianity was that our Lord had seemed in the mention of 'the abomination of desolation' to give it His sanction. The enigmatic phrase which He had used was interpreted in the light of current Jewish doctrines about the appearance of Beliar.

The specially Pauline features in the description of Antichrist are:

(1) His sitting in the Temple, declaring himself to be God. The language is modelled on the description in Daniel 11. 36 ff., of the king who shall exalt himself against every God. The sitting in the Temple is to be connected with our Lord's words as reported in the oldest account, Mark 13. 14, 'when ye see the abomination of desolation standing (*ἑστηκότα*) where he ought not,'<sup>1</sup> which, in the light of the Daniel passage, was interpreted to mean 'standing in the holy place' (Matt. 24. 15). Later accounts speak of him as rebuilding the Temple or as setting up his statue in the Temple (cf. *Asc. Is.* 4. 11, Bousset, 104). The latter is of course a reminiscence of Caligula's attempt to set up his statue in the Temple, an event, however, of which there seems to be no reflexion in St. Paul.

(2) The restraining person or force (*ὁ κατέχων, τὸ κατέχον*). By this phrase St. Paul certainly meant the Roman Empire. There is apparently no parallel for the phrase, but there are some parallels for the idea. In the Esdras passage quoted above the unlooked-for king is to appear only after the destruction of the fourth world-power. In Apoc. Baruch, 40, the fall of Rome is to precede the coming of Messiah. And the same statement is made in the later Rabbinical accounts.<sup>2</sup>

(3) His lying wonders. These are illustrated by the passages from the *Sibylline Oracles* and the *Ascension of Isaiah* referred to above. The later accounts emphasize the imposture of his miracles, and the fact that his power stops short of being able to raise the dead, although even this power is attributed to him in the *Sibylline Oracles*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dan. 9. 27, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν βδέλυγμα τῶν ἐρημώσεων ἔσται ἕως συντελείας.

<sup>2</sup> Weber, 365; Bousset, 77 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Bousset, 115 ff.

(4) His destruction by Christ at His coming.

The language of Isaiah 11. 4, 'with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked,' is here drawn on by St. Paul: and the later Targum of Jonathan on that passage takes 'the wicked' to mean 'the wicked Armilus,' the incarnation of wickedness.<sup>1</sup> The use of the Isaiah passage in this connexion is almost certainly taken over from Jewish tradition.

<sup>1</sup> Weber, 365; Bousset, 148 ff. Cf. the use of the Isaiah passage in Ps. Sal. 17. 27, 39, and 2 Esd. 13. 10.



## CHAPTER VI.

## THE WORLD OF SPIRITS.

THE belief in the existence of angels and demons was implanted in the Jewish mind from the earliest times. But it was only after the return from the exile that the doctrine received any wide development. 'The names of the angels,' it was said, 'and of the months were brought from Babylon.' Now for the first time do we meet with the names of the archangels Michael and Gabriel (in Daniel), to which are subsequently added Raphael (Tobit), Uriel and Hieremihel (2 Esdras). To take instances from a less well-known book, in the *Book of Antiquities* attributed to Philo we find mention of 'Nathaniel angelus qui praeest igni,' Phadahel the angel who visited Manoah and his wife, Cervihel 'angelum praepositum super virtutem,' angels presiding over wizards: the angel who strove with Jacob 'stabat super hymnos': and there is a considerable amount of curious lore on the subject to be found in that book, showing what a hold it had upon the Jewish mind at the close of the first century.

The belief in a spirit-world, however, was not

shared by all sections of the Jewish nation. We are told that 'the Sadducees say there is no resurrection, neither angel nor spirit, but the Pharisees confess both' (Acts 23. 8). <sup>A distinctively Pharisaic belief.</sup>

It was thus a distinctively Pharisaic doctrine, and we may reasonably expect that St. Paul in his views on angelology, as in his doctrine on the resurrection, will reflect some of the current views of his day, the traditions of which must have been familiar to him from his youth.

The subject of angelology, although not holding any prominent place in Paulinism, is one on which a good deal may be gleaned from the Pauline Epistles, as has been shown in Everling's <sup>Pauline angelology generally.</sup> interesting treatise,<sup>1</sup> and one which offers

several points of contact with Jewish thought. It is just in a subject of comparatively secondary importance, such as this may be considered to be, that the Pharisaic views of the Apostle would be likely to outlive his conversion. The subject, of course, comes more to the front in the Epistles of the first captivity, Colossians and Ephesians, where St. Paul was meeting an incipient form of Gnosticism, in which a worship of the angels was a dangerous feature. But hints are not wanting in the earlier Epistles, more especially in 1 Corinthians, which are not inconsistent with the more fully developed doctrine seen in the Colossian Epistle. It may be said generally on St. Paul's angelology that it is in the main in agreement with the Biblical and the later Jewish doctrine as seen in the Talmud and the apocryphal writings; but he is opposed to the

<sup>1</sup> *Die paulinische Angelologie u. Dämonologie* (Göttingen, 1888). That work has been freely used in this chapter.





growing tendency to exalt these powers to the rank of divinities and to the popular passion for elaborating angelic hierarchies. He seems to make no marked distinction between good and bad angels. Their influence is for the most part regarded as a baneful one; even where good angels are intended, they are mentioned with a slight note of impatience at the tendency to exalt them (Gal. 1. 8); the 'authorities and powers' are antagonistic to the higher interests of men, to Christ and to God; they possess only partial knowledge, they (or some of their number) are inferior to man and will be judged by him; and ultimately they will all be subjected to Christ. Heathen and Jews alike were formerly under their sway, which has now been broken by the coming of Christ. "St. Paul shared the general view, set forth in the Epistle to the Hebrews as well, that angelic agency was a distinguishing feature of God's government of the world under the O.T. dispensation, and that it had ceased with the abolition of the latter. The world of Judaism and heathendom, the old world as distinguished from the new that had come with Christ, the *αἰὼν μέλλων*, was under the angels."<sup>1</sup> Such are some of the main features in St. Paul's angelology which must now be illustrated in greater detail.

We may first consider two passages (1 C. 8. 4-6, 10. 19-21) in which St. Paul speaks of the heathen divinities, the importance of which lies in their testimony to St. Paul's belief in the existence and power of an unseen spirit-world. They occur in his discussion of the duty of abstaining from meats which

The heathen  
divinities.  
'Gods many  
and lords  
many.'  
'Sacrificing to  
devils.'

<sup>1</sup> Somerville, *St. Paul's Conception of Christ*, p. 297.

have been offered in sacrifice to idols. He begins, using, no doubt, some of the phrases of the Corinthian letter, 'We know that an idol is nothing in the world, and that there is no god but One. For however true it may be that (*εἴπερ* used of what the writer regards as the true or probable hypothesis, Lightfoot on 2 Thess. 1. 6, Blass *N.T. Grammar* (Engl. trans.), p. 271) there are so-called gods (cf. the insertion of *λεγόμενον* in the Daniel quotation in 2 Thess. 2. 4) whether in heaven or on earth, as in fact there are many (so called: emphasis on *πολλοί*) gods and lords, yet for us Christians there is one God.' Stanley's comment is, 'The actual existence of the heathen divinities is neither affirmed nor denied but left in obscurity.' This is hardly so; in spite of the depreciatory *λεγόμενοι* in the first clause, and the fact that the emphasis is laid on *πολλοί* and not on *εἰσίν* in the second, it seems that the existence of certain real powers behind the idols is implied by the concessive *εἴπερ εἰσίν*, followed by the corroborative clause *ὥσπερ εἰσίν*. The divinity of these powers is denied, but not their existence. This appears clearly from the second passage, where Paul says that participation in the idol-feasts produces as real a union between the worshipper and the object of his worship as the Eucharist does between the Christian and Christ. Then, to avert any appearance of inconsistency with his previous denial of the idol's existence, he adds, 'What then do I say? that meat offered to idols is anything or that an idol is anything? (Nay) but I say that the sacrifices of the heathen they sacrifice to devils and not to God, and I would not that ye should have communion with devils. Ye cannot drink the



cup of the Lord and the cup of devils.' He is here using Old Testament language;<sup>1</sup> but he clearly believes in the existence of certain malignant powers with whom the sacrificers are brought into vital connexion, and as he has denied the power of the idol itself, the passage seems most naturally explained by supposing that St. Paul regarded the heathen divinities as non-existent, but held that there were certain powers at work behind the idols. The widespread contemporary belief in the influence of demons may be illustrated from the demoniacs in the Gospels, from the account in Tobit of Asmodeus who slays the seven husbands of Sarah, from the demons who tempted the sons of Noah in the *Book of Jubilees* (10), of whom at the request of Mastema (Satan) one tenth part were suffered to remain on earth to tempt man, while the others were consigned to the place of judgement, and especially from the *Book of Enoch* (15), where their origin is traced to the connexion between the angels and the daughters of men in Gen. vi. The belief that the heathen were handed over to the charge of angels or demons finds expression already in the LXX of Deut. 32. 8, ἔστησεν ὁ κύριος ἔθνη κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ (Hebr. 'according to the number of the children of Israel').

The angelic hierarchy.  
(a) The authorities and powers.

St. Paul does not mention any names of angels or demons, although by the archangel of 1 Thess. 4. 16 he probably refers to Michael;<sup>2</sup> the one exception to

<sup>1</sup> Deut. 32. 17, ἔθυσαν δαιμονίοις καὶ οὐ θεῷ (of Israel). Cf. Ps. 96. 5, πάντες οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἔθνων δαιμόνια; Baruch 4. 7, θύσαντες δαιμονίοις καὶ οὐ θεῷ (of Israel); *Jubilees* 22, 'Their offerings they kill for the dead, and to the demons do they pray.'

<sup>2</sup> Bousset, *Antichrist*, 166.

this is the use of Βελίαρ in 2 C. 6. 15, a name not unfrequently applied in contemporary literature<sup>1</sup> either to Satan or to Antichrist. But he shows a knowledge of a definite angelic hierarchy. These orders or classes of angels are most commonly spoken of as ἀρχαὶ καὶ ἐξουσίαι, 'principalities and authorities' (Eph. 3. 10, 6. 12, Col. 2. 10, 15); in Rom. 8. 38 we have the combination ἄγγελοι, ἀρχαὶ . . . δυνάμεις, in 1 C. 15. 24, πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ πᾶσαν ἐξουσίαν καὶ δύναμιν, and in two passages there is a quadruple division, Eph. 1. 21 (ἀρχή, ἐξουσία, δύναμις, κυριότης) and Col. 1. 16 (θρόνοι, κυριότητες, ἀρχαί, ἐξουσίαι).

The association of ἄγγελοι with these titles (Rom.), the location of these powers ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις (E. 3. 10) and their distinction from αἷμα καὶ σὰρξ (E. 6. 12) show beyond a doubt that heavenly and not earthly powers are intended. The list is not meant to be comprehensive; Rabbinic theology generally had a tenfold division of angelic powers, ranging from Chajjioth (or living creatures, cf. Ezek. 1) down to Ischim (or men).<sup>2</sup> But there are parallels in Jewish works to all the terms, shewing that St. Paul is using recognised names. In *Slavonic Enoch*, 20, four of the names occur: 'And these men took me thence and brought me to the seventh heaven, and I saw there a very great light and all the fiery hosts of great archangels, and incorporeal powers and lordships, and principalities, and powers, cherubim and seraphim, thrones and the watchfulness of many eyes. There were ten troops.' In the *Ethiopic Enoch*, 61. 10, we read 'And he will call on all the host of the heavens and all the holy ones above, and the host of God, the Cherubim,

<sup>1</sup> Very frequent in Test. xii. Patr.

Weber, 168.



Seraphim and Ophanim, and all the *angels of power* and all the *angels of principalities*, and the Elect One, and the other powers on the earth, over the water, on that day.' In the Test. xii. Patr. (Levi 3), αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν παρεμβολῶν, οἱ ταχθέντες εἰς ἡμέραν κρίσεως, ποιῆσαι ἐκδίκησιν occupy the third of the seven heavens, and in the next above them, the fourth, are θρόνοι and ἐξουσίαι. Thus all the five orders in St. Paul's terminology may be illustrated from contemporary documents.

A note of impatience with this elaborate angelology, as Lightfoot points out, is seen in the addition καὶ πάντος ὀνόματος ὀνομαζομένου (E. 1. 21), and perhaps in the εἴτε . . . εἴτε . . . εἴτε . . . εἴτε of Col. 1. 16. 'It appears,' says Lightfoot,<sup>1</sup> 'that in this catalogue St. Paul does not profess to describe objective realities, but contents himself with repeating subjective opinions.' Still it is clear from other passages that he does believe in the real existence of these 'authorities and powers, the world-rulers of this darkness, the spiritual powers of wickedness in heavenly places,' with which the Christian is at war (E. 6. 12).

Another phrase indicating a belief in the existence of angelic orders is found in E. 3. 15, 'the Father,

from Whom every family (πατριά) in heaven and on earth receives its name.'

(b) The families in heaven. Πατριά here has the meaning of order or tribe; the earthly families are the nations, with the main division into Jews and Gentiles, the heavenly families are the orders of angels. It does not appear to have been noticed that Rabbinic theology presents an exact parallel to this phrase 'the families in

<sup>1</sup> Lightfoot on Col. 1. 16. See also Abbott on Eph. 1. 21.

heaven.' "In opposition to mankind as the inhabitants of the lower regions, the heavenly spirit world or the angel host is called the *פמליא של מעלה* (familia), 'the family of the upper world' (*Chagiga*, 13 b) as forming the company of God";<sup>1</sup> elsewhere we read of 'the King of Kings and His family the angels.'<sup>2</sup> Under a slightly different figure they are represented as the senate or council (*בית דין*) of God, whom He consults before executing His will. 'God does nothing without consulting the family above' (*Sanhedrin*, 38 b). It is quite unnecessary to press the literal meaning of *πατριά*, so as to introduce an idea at variance with our Lord's words in Matt. 22. 30, as Everling<sup>3</sup> is inclined to do. He refers to such phrases as 'the children of the angels,' 'the sons of the holy angels' in *Enoch* (69. 4, 71. 1, etc.), which are to be explained by the phrase Bene Elohim, in which Elohim by itself has been wrongly taken as equivalent to angels.

The nearest approach to a distinction between good and evil angels is seen in the names 'an angel of light' (2 C. 11. 14), and 'an angel of Satan' (*ib.* 12. 7). Elsewhere the Apostle speaks of 'angels of power' who will appear with Christ at the second coming (2 Th. 1. 7), and of 'the elect angels' (1 Tim. 5. 21). But apart from these passages they are generally regarded as powers that are neutral or antagonistic to the best interests of man and to the advance of goodness. Nor was the distinction between good and bad inherent in the older Jewish conception of angels.

<sup>1</sup> Weber, 166. <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 175. <sup>3</sup> *Angelologie*, 104 f.



An angel was merely a messenger or instrument of God as his name implied, and his beneficent or malignant nature depended on the particular mission on which he was sent. The earlier angelology did not attach definite personal names to individual angels, but it was a recognised idea that 'the name of the angel varied with his mission.'<sup>1</sup>

In the following passages (mainly in Col. and Eph.) the subordinate position of the angels is emphasized by St. Paul. They are included in the Creation of the angels. universe which was created through Christ: Col. 1. 16 (cf. 1 C. 8. 6), 'In Him were created all things in the heavens and on the earth, the visible and the invisible, whether thrones or lordships or principalities or powers. All things were created through Him and unto Him.' St. Paul is here so far in agreement with the current Jewish ideas, as the latter regarded the angels as creations of God, though no part is taken by the Jewish Messiah in their creation. 'The fundamental teaching of Biblical angelology is that angels, like the other beings of the world, were created by God and are dependent on Him.'<sup>2</sup> It never raises them to the level of independent divinities. Rabbinic theology is in agreement with this. It includes them under the works of the six days of creation; opinion differed as to whether they were created on the second day as 'spirits' or 'winds' (*Schemoth Rabba*, 15, Targ. Jer. on Gen. 1. 26), or on the fifth day with the fowls of the air (*Ber. Rabba*, 3, from Is. 6. 2). 'But in no case can one regard the first day of creation as the day when the angels were created, because otherwise it might appear as if they

<sup>1</sup> Hamburger, *R.E.*, art. *Engel*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

were called into being in order to share in God's work of creation.'<sup>1</sup> The part taken by Christ in their creation is of course a peculiarly Pauline conception.

The authorities and powers, as was said, are generally regarded as antagonistic to man's welfare. They have a tendency to estrange him from the love of God (Rom. 8. 38, cf. They are antagonistic to man. Gal. 1. 8).

They are antagonistic to God, and the Atonement of the Cross is extended to them: Col. 1. 20, 'He was pleased . . . through Him to reconcile all things unto Himself, having made peace To God. through the blood of His Cross, whether things upon the earth or things in the heavens (*τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς*). The angels cannot, as the Colossian heretics supposed, act as mediators between God and man, for they too stand in need of reconciliation with God. That the angels were not sinless is an idea not foreign to the O.T., as the following passages (adduced by Everling) show: Job 4. 18, 'He putteth no trust in His servants and His angels He chargeth with folly,' 21. 22, 'Shall any teach God knowledge, seeing He judgeth those that are high,' and 25. 2 (which closely resembles St. Paul's words), 'He maketh peace in His high places'; so also Is. 24. 21, 'the Lord shall punish the host of the high ones on high,' and Ps. 82. 1, 'He judgeth among the gods.' In particular the story of the fall of the 'Watchers' in Gen. vi. had

<sup>1</sup> *Ber. Rabba*, 1 ap. Weber, 166. The creation of angels did not cease with the cosmogony. Rabbinism had a rather beautiful idea of a daily creation of angels, called into being to sing a new song before the Lord. This fancy was evolved from Lament. 3. 23, 'they are new every morning.'





given rise to much legendary matter in the time of St. Paul, with which he shews himself acquainted elsewhere (1 C. 11. 10).

They are antagonistic to Christ, being included among the 'enemies' who must all be put under His feet (1 C. 15. 25). Again in the difficult

To Christ.

passage Col. 1. 15, their antagonism to Christ in His earthly life and His final victory over them on the Cross is alluded to. Everling here on insufficient grounds identifies the ἀρχαί and ἐξουσίαι with the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου mentioned a little earlier in verse 8, and interprets the latter to mean the spirits of the elements (see later). In view of the close connexion of the ἀρχαί with the 'bond consisting in ordinances' which was nailed to the Cross, there is more ground for the belief that they are in some way specially connected with the law, and are in this passage at least to be identified with the angels who, according to a widespread Jewish legend, known to St. Paul, were present when the law was given on Sinai.

In 1 C. 6. 3 St. Paul dissuades Christians from going to law before heathen tribunals by reminding them of the high destiny which awaits them when they shall have to exercise judgement upon the world and upon angels:

'Know ye not that the saints shall judge the world? . . . know ye not that we shall judge angels?'

This isolated statement, unique in St. Paul, and without parallel in the N.T., lets in a light upon the mystic ideas which he held in common with the Jews of his day; the form in which it is introduced, οὐκ οἴδατε, implies that it had formed part of his oral

Their inferiority to man and judgement by him.

teaching to the Corinthians. For parallels we have to go to apocryphal sources. The most striking of these occurs in the *Book of Enoch* (13-16). Here Enoch is bidden to tell the angels who sinned with the daughters of men of their doom. 'And Enoch went and said, Azazel, thou shalt find no peace: a severe sentence has gone forth against thee . . . And they besought me to draw up a petition for them that they might find forgiveness, and to take their petition into the presence of God in heaven.' Enoch then reads their petition by the waters of Dan until he falls asleep and sees a vision which he afterwards recounts to the watchers. 'And I began to recount those words of righteousness and to reprimand the holy watchers.' He tells how he was bidden 'Go, say to the watchers of heaven, who have sent thee to intercede for them; You should intercede for men and not men for you . . . Say to them therefore, You have no peace.'

The passage and its immediate context have not been without influence on N.T. writers: the description of the fallen angels being bound fast under the hills of the earth until the great day of judgement is certainly alluded to in Jude 6 (2 Pet. 2. 4).

Though the parallel with St. Paul is not exact (the saint merely foretells their doom), yet a passage such as this would lead to the esoteric doctrine here hinted at by St. Paul.

The idea of the saints being assessors at the final judgement (cf. 1 Thess. 3. 13) finds a parallel in Wisd. 3. 8 (of which the passage in 1 Corinthians is possibly a reminiscence), ἐν καιρῷ ἐπισκοπῆς αὐτῶν ἀναλάμψουσιν . . . κρινούσιν ἔθνη καὶ κρατήσουσιν λαῶν,



and still earlier in Dan. 7. 22, καὶ τὴν κρίσιν ἔδωκε τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῦ ὑψίστου.

Thus as there is pre-Christian evidence for the saints being assessors at the judgement, and also for the belief that the fallen angels will then undergo punishment, there is nothing in St. Paul's statement to which a contemporary Jew would not have subscribed.

The passage (1 C. 6. 3) further implies an inferiority of angels to the saints. This is quite in agreement with the doctrine of the Rabbis. With them it was a recognised truth that "the righteous are greater than the angels" (Tanchuma).<sup>1</sup> The same idea appears in Apoc. Bar. 51. 12, 'Moreover there will then be excellency in the righteous surpassing that in the angels,' and in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where they are spoken of as spirits sent forth to minister for the sake of those who are to inherit salvation (1. 14), and it is said that it is not to them that the future world is to be subject (2. 5), as the present world according to Jewish ideas is subjected.

The belief that there are limitations to angelic knowledge is common to Jewish and early Christian writers. The clearest allusion in St. Paul <sup>Their partial knowledge.</sup> is in Eph. 3. 10, where he says that he has been entrusted with the preaching of the mystery which has been hidden from the ages (namely of the admission of the Gentiles to the blessings of the Gospel), 'that now unto the principalities and the powers in the heavenly places might be made known through

<sup>1</sup> Hamburger, *R.E.*, art. *Heiligkeit der Engel* gives the proofs which were adduced from the O.T. for this proposition.

the Church the manifold wisdom of God.' This striking description of the revelation to the heavenly hosts of God's wisdom through the founding of a church on earth finds an echo in 1 Peter 1. 12, εἰς ἃ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἄγγελοι παρακύψαι.<sup>1</sup> Of Jewish parallels, none of which rise to the grandeur of St. Paul's conception, the following may be noted: Enoch (*Eth. En.* 16. 3) is bidden to tell the fallen angels, 'You have been in heaven, and though the hidden things had not yet been revealed to you, you knew worthless mysteries, and these in the hardness of your hearts ye have recounted to the women.' Cf. *Slav. En.* 24. 3, 'Not even to My angels have I told My secrets, nor have I informed them of their origin, nor have they understood My infinite creation which I tell thee of to-day,' 40. 3, 'Not even the angels know the number' (of the stars and the heavenly hosts). It is the secrets of nature which are here regarded as being hidden from the angels; with St. Paul it is the great scheme of the world's redemption.<sup>2</sup>

For parallels in early Christian writings we have in the first place our Lord's words, 'Of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no not the angels of heaven, neither the Son' (Matt. 24. 36). And then there are two noteworthy passages which describe the entrance of Christ upon His earthly life as hidden

<sup>1</sup> Five words which are 'a momentary outburst from the undercurrent of the writer's thoughts, fed from St. Paul's two chief Epistles' (Hort).

<sup>2</sup> Rabbinic writers represent them as not understanding all languages; a man must pray in Hebrew if he desires to be heard, 'for he who prays in the Aramaic language, to him the angels of service do not give heed (to present his prayer before God), since they do not understand Aramaic' (Weber, 173). But it is needless to dwell on such fancies; St. Paul had higher conceptions of the 'tongues of angels.'



from the Prince of this world and his angels. The first is in Ignatius (*Eph.* 19), καὶ ἔλαθεν τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἢ παρθενία Μαρίας καὶ ὁ τόκετος αὐτῆς, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ θάνατος τοῦ κυρίου· τρία μυστήρια κραυγῆς ('to be cried aloud'), ἅτινα ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ θεοῦ ἐπράχθη. With this should be compared the description in the early Christian portion of the composite work, the *Ascension of Isaiah*, how Christ was bidden by the Father to descend through the seven heavens, taking the form of the angel-inhabitants of each heaven in turn, so that He may pass unknown through their midst, 'and all the princes of that world shall not know that Thou art Lord with Me of the seven heavens and of their angels, nor shall they know that Thou art with Me' (10. 11).

The employment in these last two quotations of the phrase 'the prince (or princes) of this world' leads one to enquire whether we have not another reference to this imperfect knowledge of the angels in a passage of St. Paul where at first sight such a reference is not apparent. In 1 Cor. 2. 6-8 St. Paul asserts that, although the word of the cross does not consist in worldly wisdom, yet Christians have 'a wisdom which is not of this world nor of the rulers of this world which are coming to nought; but we speak God's wisdom in a mystery, even the wisdom that hath been hidden, which God foreordained before the worlds unto our glory: which none of the rulers of this world has come to know, for had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory.' Origen (*Hom. IV. in Matt.*) understood 'the rulers of this age' to mean the angels, taking the phrase to be the concrete equivalent for the commoner αἱ ἀρχαί; and Everling

follows him. The present writer cannot bring himself to reject the *prima facie* view, that the earthly rulers are intended who crucified the Lord. In favour of Origen's view we have the parallel phrases in St. Paul, οἱ κοσμοκράτορες τοῦ σκότους τούτου (E. 6. 12), and ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου (2 C. 4. 4); we have the identical phrase used of Satan and his hosts in Ignatius (apparently alluding to the passage under discussion), and in the *Ascension of Isaiah*; their coming to nought (καταργούμενοι) is illustrated by 1 C. 15. 24 (ὅταν καταργήσῃ πᾶσαν ἀρχήν, κ.τ.λ.), and we may lastly refer to the connexion between the angelic powers and the crucifixion in Col. 1. 15. On the other hand, the exact phrase does not occur in St. Paul of the angels, whereas the ignorance of the earthly rulers who condemned Christ is a subject which meets us in his speech at the Pisidian Antioch (Acts 13. 27, οἱ γὰρ κατοικοῦντες Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν τοῦτον ἀγνοήσαντες . . . κρίναντες, cf. A. 3. 17); moreover the whole context seems to demand the ordinary interpretation. The rulers are the rulers in the sphere of intellect, power, and rank, the σοφοί, δυνατοί, εὐγενεῖς of 1. 26; the use immediately afterwards of the phrase ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη (not taken from O.T.) is an indication that the ignorance of men, not of angels, is intended.

The subjection of the authorities and powers to Christ forms a prominent subject in the Epistles of the first captivity. It would appear from these that the subjection followed closely upon His resurrection and ascension (Eph. 1. 20); the exalted Christ already is 'the head of

Ultimate subjection of the powers.



all authority and power' (Col. 2. 10). This view is followed in 1 Pet. 3. 22, ὃς ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ θεοῦ πορευθεὶς εἰς οὐρανὸν ὑποταγέντων αὐτῷ ἀγγέλων καὶ ἐξουσιῶν καὶ δυνάμεων. On the other hand, in an earlier Epistle (1 C. 15. 23-28), as we have seen, the subjection or abolition (καταργεῖν) of the authorities and powers does not take place till 'the end,' being preceded by a reign of Christ in which apparently these last enemies are gradually overcome. The destruction of Satan forms part of the work of the Messiah in several Jewish writings, though the 'last enemies' are there more often represented as earthly than as heavenly foes.

If in the later Epistles the punishment and subjection of the angelic hosts at the second coming becomes the more prominent theme, their attendance upon the Lord at His coming is brought before us in the earliest Epistles. The Parousia is ushered in by the voice of the archangel (1 Thess. 4. 16). In 2 Thess. 1. 7 the Lord is represented as appearing from heaven with angels of His power in flaming fire rendering vengeance to them that know not God. These angels of punishment reserved for the last day may be illustrated from many passages in the *Book of Enoch* and the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs (in Test. Levi they are among the denizens of the second and third heavens, see table at end of this chapter). In 1 Thess. 3. 13, 'the coming of the Lord with all His holy ones' (πάντων τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ), it is doubtful whether men (cf. 1 Thess. 4. 16, 1 C. 6. 2) or angels are intended. Possibly both are included, but the passages referred to, together with the fact that οἱ ἅγιοι is not elsewhere

Angels at the second coming.

in St. Paul a recognised term for angels, makes the former interpretation more probable.

We saw reason to suppose that St. Paul was acquainted with legendary additions to the story of the Fall and the part taken by Satan in the temptation of Eve.<sup>1</sup> Two other Pauline passages where traditional accounts of angels in O.T. history are certainly alluded to, here call for consideration.

The first is the very obscure passage, 1 Cor. 11. 8-10, 'For the man is not of the woman, but the woman of the man: for neither was the man created for the woman, but the woman for the man. For this cause ought the woman to have [a sign of] authority on her head, *because of the angels.*' St. Paul is enforcing the national Greek custom of women appearing in public with their heads covered, a custom which some of the Corinthian church, perhaps instigated by St. Paul's doctrine of the equality of the sexes in Christ, had been led to discard in their religious services. The arguments which he uses to enforce this distinction appear highly artificial, and are evidence of his training in Rabbinic modes of discussion.<sup>2</sup> The gist of the verse under discussion is undoubtedly that woman is subordinate to man and that this subordination should be shown by some outward difference in dress. We may at once put aside the conjectures which have been suggested in place of ἀγγέλους: the reading κάλυμμα for ἐξουσίαν is ill-attested and intrinsically

<sup>1</sup>Pp. 50 ff.

<sup>2</sup>Thus in v. 7 he overlooks the fact that in Gen. 1. 27, ἄνθρωπος is used in a collective sense, including man and woman, who was also made in the image of God.





improbable, and the interpretation of ἔξουσία as meaning 'a veil' receives no real support.

There can be little doubt that Stanley and Everling are right in finding the explanation of the last words in legendary amplifications of the account in Genesis vi. of the sin of 'the sons of God' (LXX οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ) with the daughters of men. The allusion in verses 8 and 9 to the passages in the early chapters of Genesis<sup>1</sup> where the woman's subordination to the man is dwelt on, 'carried on the writer's thoughts to the next and only kindred passage in Genesis 6. 2-4, in which the relations of the sexes are described as subverted by the union of the sons of God with the daughters of men.' There is, as Everling points out, a direct contrast between διὰ τὸν ἄνδρα in verse 9 and διὰ τοὺς ἄγγέλους in verse 10. 'Woman was made because of the man. She must therefore (διὰ τοῦτο) have some safeguard because of the angels.' The striking illustration from the *Testament of Reuben* (chap. 5), to which commentators refer, must here be quoted. Φεύγετε οὖν τὴν πορνείαν, τέκνα μου, καὶ προστάσσετε ταῖς γυναῖξιν ὑμῶν καὶ ταῖς θυγάτρυσιν ἵνα μὴ κοσμῶνται τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ τὰς ὄψεις αὐτῶν, ὅτι πᾶσα γυνὴ δολιευομένη ἐν τούτοις εἰς κόλασιν τοῦ αἰῶνος τετρίηται. οὕτως γὰρ ἔθελξαν τοὺς ἐγγρηγόρους πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ. Though the work from which this extract is taken belongs to the second century, we cannot doubt that we have here an early Jewish legend of the women tiring their heads and painting their faces to attract the angels.<sup>2</sup> The hold which the

<sup>1</sup> Gen. 1. 27, 2. 18, 2. 21-23, 3. 16.

<sup>2</sup> The legend occurs also in *Targ. Jer. I.*, 'The sons of the great saw that the daughters of men were beautiful and painted and curled.'

narrative in Genesis vi. had taken on the popular imagination is attested by the *Book of Enoch*, chaps. 6. ff. (where the angels bind themselves by oath before descending to earth to fulfil their purpose), *Jubilees*, 4 and 5 (where they are represented as coming down to teach men righteousness, but are tempted by the women), *Slav. Enoch*, 18. 4-6, Apoc. Bar. 56. 10 and other passages. The real difficulty in this interpretation of the passage lies in the abruptness of the reference to a legend which is not directly suggested by what has gone before. But we had an equally abrupt reference to the judging of angels in an earlier chapter of the Epistle. It is clear that the subject of angelology had a fascination for the Corinthians (cf. 'the tongues of angels' in 1 C. 13. 1), and had formed part of St. Paul's oral communications to them. This isolated statement would call up for them a train of associations which for us are lost. Ἐξουσία need not be taken to be 'a sign of her husband's authority,' but more simply as 'an authority which the woman herself exercises, a potestas by which the lust of the angels is frustrated' (so Everling).

St. Paul shares the contemporary belief that angels assisted at and took an active part in the giving of the law (ὁ νόμος . . . διαταγὴς δι' ἀγγέλων, Gal. 3. 19). No mention of angels occurs in Exodus 19, but their presence is per-  
(b) Angels at the giving of the law.  
haps implied by a verse in the song of Moses, Deut. 33. 2, 'He shined forth from Paran and He came from the ten thousands of holy ones' (שֶׁנֶּחֱדָה קָדְשׁ). The LXX, while omitting any mention of them in the first clause of that verse (σὺν μυριάσιν Καδὶς), inserts them in the second in opposition to the Hebrew



ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ ἄγγελοι μετ' αὐτοῦ. The same idea is contained in Ps. 68. 17, 'The chariots of God are twenty thousand, even thousands of angels . . . The Lord is among them as in Sinai.' This passive attendance of angels on Sinai which arose out of Deut. 33. 2 was then 'by a natural process of interpretation taken to indicate their ministration' (Westcott).

The common belief in their ministration is implied by St. Stephen's words (A. 7. 33), οἵτινες ἐλάβετε τὸν νόμον εἰς διαταγὰς ἀγγέλων καὶ οὐκ ἐφυλάξατε, and by a passage in Josephus (*Ant.* 15. 5. 3), where Herod is reported as using the words, ἡμῶν δὲ τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν δογμάτων καὶ τὰ ὀσιώτατα τῶν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις δι' ἀγγέλων παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μαθόντων. What the nature of that ministration was understood to be may be illustrated from *Jubilees*, 1 and 2. Moses is there called up to the top of Sinai, and God bids the Angel of the Presence to write down for him the history 'from the first day of creation till My Sanctuary was built among them for all eternity.' In chap. 2 the angel tells Moses to write down all the words of the creation, and the rest of the book takes the form of a revelation, the angel dictating and Moses writing. According to Rabbinic accounts, when God appeared on Sinai, He was attended by a host of angels who envied the Israelites and assaulted Moses when he climbed the mountain. But God gave him the face of Abraham who had once entertained angels, and so they dared not injure him. They were then constrained to appear in God's company and to add lustre to the giving of the law.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Schemoth Rabba*, 28 ap. Weber, 269.

In the passages hitherto quoted their presence is always regarded as adding glory to the law. But this is where St. Paul departs from the current idea; he uses the tradition to depreciate the law. He is comparing the promise made to Abraham with the law which was given long afterwards: and when in reply to the question, What then is the law? he says that it was added to produce sin, that it was transient and ordained by angels by the hand of a mediator, it is obvious from the context that the mention of angels is intended to detract from the majesty of the law. It was not directly communicated by God to man as was the promise.

This view is shared by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (2. 2), who contrasts 'the word spoken by angels' with the message of the Gospel which was delivered by the Lord Himself.

We pass now to a phrase, of which the meaning has been widely discussed, and on which the final verdict has not yet been pronounced. The <sup>The elements</sup> two main interpretations of τὰ στοιχεῖα of the world. τοῦ κόσμου are (1) the elementary stages in the religious training of the world, both Jewish and Gentile, (2) (a) the physical elements of the universe, or (b) more particularly the angels presiding over those elements. If the last of these meanings is the correct one, the phrase is of course one which holds an important place in the Apostle's angelology: and some discussion of it cannot be avoided. The first is the meaning adopted by Lightfoot and the majority of English commentators; the second (στοιχεῖα being taken for the heavenly bodies) is that maintained by many of the Fathers, and in its latter or personal form



it has been revived and adopted almost unanimously by recent German theologians.

The four passages where the phrase occurs are:—

- (a) Gal. 4. 3. οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὅτε ἤμεν νήπιοι, ὑπὸ τὰ στ. τοῦ κ. ἡμεθα δεδουλωμένοι.
- (b) Gal. 4. 8, 9. ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν οὐκ εἰδότες θεὸν ἐδουλεύσατε τοῖς φύσει μὴ οὔσι θεοῖς· νῦν δὲ γνόντες θεόν, μᾶλλον δὲ γνωσθέντες ὑπὸ θεοῦ, πῶς ἐπιστρέφετε πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ ἄσθενῆ καὶ πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα, οἷς πάλιν ἄνωθεν δουλεῦσαι θέλετε; ἡμέρας παρατηρεῖσθε καὶ μῆνας καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἐνιαυτούς.
- (c) Col. 2. 8. βλέπετε μή τις ὑμᾶς ἔσται ὁ συλαγωγῶν διὰ τῆς φιλοσοφίας καὶ κενῆς ἀπάτης κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, κατὰ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου καὶ οὐ κατὰ Χριστόν.
- (d) Col. 2. 20 ff. εἰ ἀπεθάνετε σὺν Χριστῷ ἀπὸ τῶν στ. τοῦ κ., τί ὡς ζῶντες ἐν κόσμῳ δογματίζεσθε Μὴ ἄψιν μηδὲ γεύσιν μηδὲ θίγῃς . . . κατὰ τὰ ἐντάλματα καὶ διδασκαλίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

It is to be noted in the first place that in the Galatian passages bondage under the elements is spoken of as a stage through which both Jews and Gentiles have passed. 'We' (that is Christians generally, the Apostle included) 'were in bondage.' The falling away of the converted heathen of Galatia into Judaism is described as a *return* to the weak and beggarly elements. Clearly, heathenism and Judaism alike are a bondage to the elements.

After a careful examination of the arguments brought forward in support of the material (or per-

sonal) sense of *στοιχεῖα*, the present writer cannot bring himself to desert the figurative sense given to it by Lightfoot, in spite of the increasing popularity of the other view. The arguments may be summarised as follows.<sup>1</sup>

(1) It is urged that τὰ στοιχεῖα without some nearer definition than is given by τοῦ κόσμου must to ordinary readers have conveyed the meaning of 'elements of the universe' or 'heavenly <sup>The Greek</sup> phrase. bodies.' When used in the metaphorical sense of the rudiments or elements of a subject, it requires, so it is asserted, a genitive more nearly defining its meaning, such as τῆς τέχνης or τῆς ἀρετῆς. St. Paul according to these critics should have used some such phrase as τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς σοφίας (or τῆς θεοσεβείας) τοῦ κόσμου. In the only N.T. passage where the word indisputably has the sense of rudimentary instruction (Heb. 5. 12) such a genitive is present; *χρεῖαν ἔχετε τοῦ διδάσκειν ὑμᾶς τινὰ τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν λογίων τοῦ θεοῦ*. This argument is by no means convincing. The word *στοιχεῖα* in its metaphorical sense carries with it the idea of instruction or knowledge; St. Paul is clearly concerned with no other than the religious instruction of the world; it seems, therefore, that 'the beginnings of religious knowledge in the (pre-Christian) world' is a sense which may without undue straining be attributed to the words. The phrase is rather a vague one, it is true, but the idea of an elementary stage in the religious training of the world was a new and peculiarly Pauline one; he had to invent a general phrase to

<sup>1</sup> See especially Everling, *Angelologie*, 66-75; Klöpper, *Der Brief an der Colosser* (1882), pp. 361-389; Spitta, *Der zweite Brief des Petr. u. der Brief des Judas* (1885), pp. 260-272: art. *Element* in *Hastings' Bible Dict.*



express it, and that used was probably the least cumbersome which he could have found. The Biblical use of the word *στοιχείον* is slightly in favour of the material sense. It occurs only three times in the LXX, twice in the Book of Wisdom (which St. Paul had read) of the elements of the universe (earth, air, fire, water: 7. 17, 19. 18), and with these passages should be compared Wisdom 13. 2, 3, where it is said that the heathen regard these elements as the gods which rule the world; in the third LXX passage, 4 Macc. 12. 13, it is used of the constituent elements of the body. In the N.T. it has a metaphorical sense, as we saw, in the passage of Hebrews; in the only other passage, 2 Pet. 3. 10, 12, it means the heavenly bodies. Nowhere, however, does the addition *τοῦ κόσμου* occur. Nor does it seem that any additional sense is gained by this addition if the physical sense of *στοιχεῖα* is adopted. The charge of want of lucidity in the expression is equally valid against the advocates of the material sense. If the physical elements or heavenly bodies are intended, why do we not find *τὰ στοιχεῖα* simply? if the angels presiding over these elements, why not *οἱ ἄγγελοι τῶν στοιχείων*?

(2) To turn from the phrase to the context in which it occurs. The advocates of the material sense derive support from its connexion with  
 The context. days, months, seasons and years (Gal. 4. 9, cf. Col. 2. 16), because the seasons are regulated by the heavenly bodies. But it is not only the seasons which are associated with it; meat and drink are mentioned in Colossians in addition to new moons and Sabbaths, and from the Colossian Epistle it is clear that the general characteristic of the *στοιχεῖα* is a subservience

to ceremonial ordinances, doctrines and traditions of men, of which the observance of the seasons only forms a part. The mention of *παράδοσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων* and *δογματίζεσθε* forms a strong argument in favour of Lightfoot's view. The phrase 'bondage under the elements of religion' is considered a strange expression;<sup>1</sup> but it is no more unusual than the metaphor of the *παιδαγωγός* and the jailor which St. Paul applies to the law (Gal. 3. 23, 24).

Again it is urged that from its context, especially in Gal. 4. 8, 9, the word must have a *personal* sense. In the metaphor used in passage (a) the *στοιχεῖα* answer to the *ἐπίτροποι* and *οἰκονόμοι* under whom the minor is placed. But there is obviously no necessity to make both elements in the comparison personal, any more than there is to give *νόμος* a personal sense where it is likened to a *παιδαγωγός*. In passage (b) there is more force in the argument that *τὰ στοιχεῖα* which the Galatians desire again to serve are equivalent to *οἱ φύσει μὴ ὄντες θεοί* to whom formerly they were in bondage. But the two things need not be identified; the worship of the heathen gods was a round of ceremonial observances, and might be spoken of indifferently as a bondage to the deities or to the ceremonial. In (c) no argument can be drawn for a personal sense from the opposition of *τὰ στοιχεῖα* and *Χριστός*, and the *κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων* which precedes it makes for an impersonal sense; this is also certainly required by the instances of 'dogmatizing' in passage (d), 'Touch not, taste not, handle not.' Lastly, the connexion with the *ἀρχαί* and *ἐξουσίαι* in (e) is adduced, and these are identified with

<sup>1</sup> Pfleiderer, *Paulinismus*, 79.





the elemental spirits. It is, however, very improbable that St. Paul should use two distinct phrases in such close proximity to express the same thing.

(3) We must briefly allude to the widespread Jewish belief that the heavenly bodies, and indeed all natural objects, had each its peculiar angel. Some of the chief passages are *Jubilees* 2 (a description of the creation on the first day of the angels of the winds, of the clouds, of snow and hail and hoarfrost, of thunder and lightning, of cold and heat, of the seasons, etc.), *Enoch*, 80 (the leaders of the stars), 82 (names of the leaders of the orders of the stars), 60 (the spirit of the sea, the spirit of the hoarfrost, the spirit of the hail which is a good angel, of the snow, mist, dew, rain, etc.), *Slav. Enoch*, 4 (rulers of the orders of the stars). According to the Rabbis there is nothing in the world, not even a plant, which is without its angel.<sup>1</sup>

It is clear, then, that there was a very wide belief in elemental spirits: and moreover, that the heathen might be spoken of as under their bondage, as they are in *Wisdom* 13. 2, ἀλλ' ἡ πῦρ ἡ πνεῦμα ἡ ταχινὸν ἀέρα ἡ κύκλον ἄστρον ἡ βίαιον ὕδωρ ἡ φωστῆρας οὐρανοῦ πρυτάνεις κόσμου θεοὺς ἐνόμισαν. It is equally clear that such bondage might be predicated of the Jews who had developed this system of angelology. This is actually the case in an early Christian work, the *Κίρυγμα Πέτρου* (quoted by Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, vi. p. 760), μηδὲ κατὰ Ἰουδαίους σέβασθε, καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι μόνοι οἰόμενοι τὸν θεὸν γινώσκειν, οὐκ ἐπίστανται λατρεύοντες ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἀρχαγγέλοις, μηνὶ καὶ σελήνῃ.

And it is natural to expect that St. Paul, who as

<sup>1</sup> Everling, 73.

we have seen is in accord with so many of these beliefs of his time, should show some reflection of this particular feature of nature-worship. A trace of it is perhaps seen in the σώματα ἐπουράνια of 1 Cor. 15. 40, where the context seems to show that he shared the universal belief of antiquity that the stars were animate beings. But the theory that such nature-worship is implied in the phrase τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου is, as the present writer has endeavoured to show, insufficiently supported by the phrase or by the context. There is no early instance of τὰ στοιχεῖα by itself standing for the elemental spirits.<sup>1</sup> And an examination of the context of the passages shows that the phrase always occurs in close connexion with a mention of law or mundane ordinances. Witness the ὑπὸ νόμον ἐφρουρούμεθα συνκλειόμενοι of Gal. 3. 23 and the ὑπὸ νόμον of 4. 4, which is used synonymously with the immediately preceding ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα. The epithet ἀσθενῇ which he applies to the elements is illustrated by the impotence which he ascribes to the law (τὸ ἀδύνατον τοῦ νόμου ἐν ᾧ ἡσθένει, R. 8. 3). St. Paul, then, regards Jews and Gentiles alike as under a reign of law before the coming of Christ; in their obedience to ritual and ceremony they were on the same level. This is of course an idea which would have been utterly alien to a contemporary Jew: it is one which would have been inconceivable to St. Paul before his conversion, and is purely the outcome of the large-minded Christianity of the Apostle of the Gentiles. It is objected that he could

<sup>1</sup> It is true that in the *Testament of Solomon*, a magical book of uncertain date, St. Paul's phrase is so used; certain spirits there say ἡμεῖς ἐσμέν τὰ τριάκοντα ἐξ στοιχείων, οἱ κοσμοκράτορες τοῦ σκότους τούτου. (*Migne, Patr. Graec.* 122, col. 1341.)



never have regarded the heathen ceremonial as in any sense a beginning which was capable of leading up to something higher; for an explanation of how this conception was possible it will be sufficient to refer to Lightfoot's note on Gal. 4. 11, where he holds that 'the Apostle here regards the higher element in heathen religion as corresponding however imperfectly to the lower element in the Mosaic law.'

It is to be feared that, in view of the conclusion reached, this investigation, though far from exhaustive, has run to a somewhat disproportionate length.

There are no such striking parallels with Jewish thought in St. Paul's teaching on demonology and the prince of the devils as those which have already been adduced in the case of his angelology generally. Beside the name by which he is ordinarily known, Satan is once spoken of as Beliar (2 C. 6. 15), and probably also as 'the destroyer' (1 C. 10. 10, *ὁ ὀλοθρευτής*, with reference to Exod. 12. 23, *ὁ ὀλοθρεύων*), the angel of death, as the Jews called him.<sup>1</sup> The name Beliar or Belial (probably *בלעל* = worthlessness), used in the O.T. to denote utter depravity in the phrase 'a man of Belial,' had before St. Paul's time become a proper name to denote either Satan (as very frequently in the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs) or a man possessing all the wickedness of Satan, namely Antichrist (*Orac. Sib.* iii. 63, *ἐκ δὲ Σεβαστηγῶν ἦξει Βελίαρ μετόπισθεν*, cf. ii. 167, *Asc. Is.* 4. 2, 'descendet Berial (*sic*) angelus magnus rex hujus mundi . . . in specie hominis, regis iniquitatis, matri-

<sup>1</sup> The phrase *ὁ ἀντικείμενος* in 1 Tim. 5. 14 appears from Pauline parallels to mean a human adversary.

cidae'). It has been suggested<sup>1</sup> that St. Paul uses the name in the second of these two senses, and that Beliar is equivalent to the *ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας* of 2 Thessalonians. It is urged that this heightens the antithesis 'What concord hath Christ with Antichrist?': but we have no evidence for the use of the word *ἀντίχριστος* earlier than the 1st Epistle of St. John, and the immediately preceding antithesis between light and darkness (cf. 2 C. 4. 4 and 11. 14) makes the ordinary interpretation more probable. Satan is also spoken of as 'the god of this age' (2 C. 4. 4), a phrase which reminds one of later Gnostic ideas, but is paralleled by 'the world-rulers of this darkness' (Eph. 6. 12) and by our Lord's use of 'the prince of this world' (Jo. 12. 31, 14. 30). The phrase 'prince of the power of the air' (E. 2. 2) represents him as the head of a Satanic army who have their habitation in the air (see below). The idea of Satan's army of angels is further illustrated by 2 C. 12. 7, where the stake in the flesh is described as an angel of Satan. With regard to his functions, he is most commonly regarded as inflicting physical suffering as in the last-mentioned passage, and in the two instances where St. Paul delivers a man over to Satan with a view to his ultimate salvation or amelioration (1 C. 5. 4, 5, 1 Tim. 1. 20). This idea is as old as the book of Job, where God says to the devil 'Ἰδοὺ παραδίδωμί σοι αὐτόν, μόνον τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ διαφύλαξον' (2. 6). So in *Jubilees*, 10, the unclean demons begin to blind and slay and inflict diseases upon the sons of Noah; but Noah is instructed in the art of medicine by the angels, and the demons lose their power. Elsewhere

<sup>1</sup> Bengel, in *loc.*, Bousset, *Antichrist*, 86.



we read of his blinding power (2 C. 4. 4), his hindering power (1 Th. 2. 18), his snare (1 Tim. 3. 6, 7, 2 Tim. 2. 26), his thoughts (2 C. 2. 11), his temptations to incontinency (1 C. 7. 5). The identification of the serpent in Genesis with Satan—not found earlier than in the Book of Wisdom—is seen in 1 C. 11. 2-3 and R. 16. 20.

The consideration of St. Paul's angelology leads naturally to his conceptions of their abode. In 2 Cor. 12. 2-4, being at length induced to imitate the glorying of the Corinthians, he 'comes to visions and revelations of the Lord.' 'I know a man in Christ fourteen years ago (whether in the body I know not, or whether out of the body I know not, God knoweth), such a one caught up even to the third heaven. And I know such a man (whether in the body or apart from the body [I know not] God knoweth), how that he was caught up into Paradise and heard unspeakable words which it is not lawful for a man to utter.' The mention of the third heaven in this passage brings us into contact with the Jewish idea of a plurality of heavens, forming so many strata or envelopes around the central earth. But two questions have been raised as to St. Paul's meaning here. (1) Is he alluding to a triple division of the heavens only? (2) Does he identify the third heaven with Paradise, or is a second rapture to Paradise implied? <sup>1</sup> Many of the Fathers suppose that a second

<sup>1</sup> Both questions are raised by St. Augustine in Book XII. of his commentary, 'De Genesi ad litteram,' a book dealing with visions generally and 2 C. 12 in particular. 'Primum quaeri solet quid dicit tertium coelum: deinde utrum illic intelligi voluerit paradisum, an posteaquam raptus est in tertium coelum, raptum esse et in paradisum, ubicumque sit paradisus.'

rapture is intended, e.g. Clem. Alex. (Strom. v. 12. 693 P.), ἀρπαγέντα ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ κατέβηεν εἰς τὸν παράδεισον; and so Bengel takes it, 'Haec versu sequente iterata non solum suaviter suspendunt acuntque lectorem et gloriationi consideratae pondus addunt, sed etiam plane duplex rei momentum exprimunt.' This theory of a double rapture is not, however, justified by the language; if that were intended, we should expect that εἰς τὸν παράδεισον would be preceded by a καί or would be put in the more emphatic position before the verb.<sup>1</sup> The heavenly Paradise, we may take it, is located by St. Paul in the third heaven. With regard to the first question, we turn to Jewish sources. We here find both in Rabbinical and in the apocryphal writings that a seven-fold division of the heavens is very common (a table showing the occupants of these seven heavens according to three of the accounts is given at the end of this chapter); Rabbi Juda appears to stand alone in representing the heavens as two only, basing his belief on Deut. 10. 14, 'The heaven and the heaven of heavens.'<sup>2</sup> For a triple division of the heavens we look in vain in contemporary Jewish thought.<sup>3</sup> Such a division appears to have been the creation of the Christian Fathers and to have been deduced from this passage of 2 Corinthians.<sup>4</sup> It is natural to suppose, therefore, that St. Paul was alluding to a third heaven out of a series of seven and not to the highest of three.

<sup>1</sup> So Alford. <sup>2</sup> Chagiga, 12b, Aboth Nathan, 37 ap. Wetstein.

<sup>3</sup> Weber, 163, does not seem to afford evidence of a threefold heaven.

<sup>4</sup> See Suicer, *Theaurus Ecclesiasticus*, tom. II., s. v. οὐρανός.



Both questions which were raised by the Pauline passage may now be considered as definitely set at rest by the recent discovery of a Jewish work which appears to go back to the first century. This is the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, which gives a detailed description of the seven heavens, and Paradise is situated in the third of these. "And these men took me from thence and brought me to the third heaven, and placed me in the midst of a garden, a place such as has never been known for the goodness of its appearance. . . . And in the midst (there is) the tree of life, in that place on which God rests when He comes into Paradise. . . . And there is another tree, an olive tree always distilling oil. . . . And there are three hundred angels very glorious who keep the garden, and with never-ceasing voices and blessed singing they serve the Lord every day. And I said, What a very blessed place is this" (chap. 8). The book with its full description of the seven heavens is certainly not influenced by the passage in 2 Cor., and if not actually known to the Apostle at any rate represents ideas which were current in his time. A later work, the *Apocalypse of Moses*, likewise places Paradise in the third of a series of seven heavens (cf. p. 35,<sup>1</sup> ἴδε τὰ ἑπτὰ στερεώματα ἀνωγμένα, with 37, where God commands Michael concerning the body of Adam, ἄρον αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν παράδεισον ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ); but there we cannot be sure that the passage is independent of St. Paul.

The same belief in a plurality of heavens is attested by Ephes. 4. 10, ὁ καταβὰς αὐτός ἐστιν καὶ ὁ ἀναβὰς ὑπεράνω πάντων τῶν οὐρανῶν ἵνα πληρώσῃ

<sup>1</sup> Tischendorf, *Apocalypses Apocryphae*.

τὰ πάντα, where the occurrence of 'all' points to a larger number than three, and by two passages in Hebrews 4. 14, ἀρχιερέα μέγαν διελθλυτότα τοὺς οὐρανούς, and 7. 26, ἀρχιερεὺς . . . ὑψηλότερος τῶν οὐρανῶν γενόμενος. The idea in these three passages of Christ passing through the separate heavens represents in a more Rabbinical form what is elsewhere described more simply as an Ascension into heaven.

In Ephes. 6. 12, we apparently find spirits of evil spoken of as having their abode in the heavens. "Our wrestling is not against flesh and blood, but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world-rulers of this darkness, against the spiritual (powers) of wickedness in the heavenly (places)" (πρὸς τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις). The indefinite phrase τὰ ἐπουράνια occurs five times in this Epistle, and in three of these passages it must have a local sense (1. 20, καθίσας ἐν δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς, κ.τ.λ., 2. 6, ἡμῶς . . . συνεκάθισεν ἐν τοῖς ἐπουραν. ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, 3. 10, ἵνα γνωρισθῇ νῦν ταῖς ἀρχ. κ. ταῖς ἐξ. ἐν τοῖς ἐπουραν.). In 1. 3 the local sense is not so clear. But as in the other passages we have mention of the ἀρχαί and ἐξουσίαι residing in the ἐπουράνια, or in the lower regions of the ἐπουράνια (1. 20), it is natural to adopt the local sense in 6. 12, and to regard the ἐπουράνια as the abode of evil spirits.

Nor is this view, which at first sight appears strange to us, without Jewish parallels. The *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* again offers an illustration. There we find mention in the second of the heavens of angels





who apostatized from the Lord, and are suspended there awaiting the last judgement. "And the men took me and brought me to the second heaven and showed me the darkness (cf. τοῦ σκοτός τούτου in St. Paul), and there I saw the prisoners suspended, reserved for and awaiting the eternal judgement. And these angels were gloomy in appearance, more than the darkness of the earth. And they unceasingly wept every hour, and I said to the men who were with me, Why are these men continually tortured? And the men answered me: These are they who apostatized from the Lord, who obeyed not the commandments of God and took counsel of their own will and transgressed together with their princes and have been already confined to the second heaven" (chap. 7). Later on we read of the Grigori in the fifth heaven who are sad on account of their fallen brethren in the second heaven. Again, the presence of evil in the heavens meets us in the third heaven, in the northern region of which, over against Paradise, is situated the place of torment for the wicked. In heavens two and three in the Testament of Levi (see page 178) we apparently have mention of spirits reserved for the punishment of lawless men and of fallen angels, but the text is not free from difficulty.

In the *Ascension of Isaiah* we are told of a continual conflict going on among the powers of Satan in the firmament below the first heaven; 'et ascendimus in firmamentum ego et ille, et ibi vidi Sammaelem ejusque potestates, et erat magna pugna super (in) eo et sermones Satauae (Satanici) et alius cum alio rixabatur. . . Et dixit (? dixi) angelo: Quae est haec

rixa? Et dixit mihi: Ita est ex quo hic mundus existit usque nunc, et haec pugna donec veniet is quem tu visurus es, eumque delebit. Et postea me ascendere fecit supra firmamentum; hoc jam est coelum' (7. 9). Similarly in 10. 29, Christ, after leaving the first or lowest heaven, descends into the firmament where was continual warfare, and takes the form of "the angels of the air." Thus it appears that Jewish thought represented evil spirits as resident in the three lowest of the seven heavens or in the air between the lowest heaven and earth;<sup>1</sup> later Jewish speculation (see the Talmudic division of heavens) seems to have taken offence at the incongruity of evil spirits being located in the aethereal regions and to have banished evil from the seven heavens.

Together with the passage in Ephesians which we have been illustrating should be taken the phrase which occurs in an earlier chapter (2. 2) 'the prince of the power of the air' (τοῦ αἵρος), that is the ruler of the power whose seat is in the air. The air was even more commonly than the seven heavens regarded as the abode of the evil spirits, as in the passages of the *Ascension of Isaiah* quoted above (cf. *Test. Benj.* 3, τοῦ αἱρίου πνεύματος τοῦ Βελίαρ); but a hard and fast line was not always drawn between the air and the series of heavens surrounding it, and St. Paul is in harmony with Jewish thought in representing the powers of evil as inhabiting both the lower αἷρ and the loftier ἐπουράνια.

In the passages which we have been illustrating

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Job 1 and 2, where Satan appears along with 'the sons of God' before the Lord, apparently in heaven.



we need not regard St. Paul as attaching a strictly material sense to the heavens and the heavenly places: it is only in a highly mystical passage that he alludes to the third heaven. Still we are not thereby precluded from closely scrutinizing the meaning which would be attached to these terms in the mouth of a Jew of the first century. The current phraseology of the time is adopted though the meaning is spiritualized.

TABLE SHOWING THREE VIEWS OF THE SEVEN HEAVENS.

<i>Slavonic Secrets of Enoch, 3 ff. (? cent. I.).</i>	<i>Testament of Levi, 3 (? cent. II.).</i>	<i>Talmud, Chagiga, 12b (Weber, 204).</i>
Clouds, air, ether.		
<b>Heaven I.</b> A very great sea. The elders and 200 rulers of the stars. Treasuries of snow and ice, guarded by angels: of clouds and dew.	The gloomiest. Witnesses every iniquity of man. Water hangs between heavens I. and II.	Vilon. Empty.
<b>Heaven II.</b> Darkness. Prisoners suspended awaiting judgement. Angels gloomy of appearance who apostatized from the Lord.	Fire, snow, and ice ready against the judgement day. Spirits reserved for the punishment of the lawless (?)	Rakla. Sun, moon, stars and planets.
<b>Heaven III.</b> Garden of Eden with tree of life and an olive tree, guarded by 300 angels. In the Northern region the place of the damned.	The hosts of the armies kept against day of judgement to execute vengeance on Beliar, etc.	Schecchakim. Millstones for making of manna.
<b>Heaven IV.</b> Course of sun and moon. Phoenixes and Chalkadri who attend on the sun. In the midst an armed host serving the Lord with singing and music.	Thrones and authorities: hymns are ever offered to God.	Zebul. Upper Jerusalem. Temple and Altar. Michael offers sacrifices.

<i>Slavonic Secrets of Enoch 3 ff. (? cent. I.).</i>	<i>Testament of Levi 3 (? cent. II.).</i>	<i>Talmud, Chagiga, 13b (Weber, 204).</i>
<b>Heaven V.</b> 'There was no service in the fifth heaven.' The Grigori or Watchers who are sad on account of their brethren who fell and are in torment in Heaven II.	Angels who bear the answers to the Angels of the Presence.	Maon. Angels of the ministry who sing by night and are silent by day.
<b>Heaven VI.</b> Seven bands of angels who study the revolutions of sun and moon. The archangels. Angels over all natural objects and over the souls of men.	Angels of the Presence who make propitiation.	Machon. Treasuries of snow and hail, chambers of noxious dews, etc.
<b>Heaven VII.</b> The great archangels. Ten troops of angels. Lordships, principalities, powers, thrones, etc. The Lord on His throne.	The great Glory dwells.	Araboth.



## CHAPTER VII.

## USE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THERE is perhaps no aspect of the Pauline theology in which the influence of the Apostle's Rabbinic training is so clearly marked as the use which is made of the Old Testament. It appears at first sight paradoxical that, whereas the law is constantly spoken of as done away in Christ and as powerless to produce man's salvation, yet the Apostle as constantly bases his arguments for the truth of Christianity on the law in the wider sense of the term. The Epistle which may be regarded as summing up the main ideas of St. Paul begins and ends with a reference to the 'holy' and 'prophetical writings' which foretold the coming of Christ.<sup>1</sup> The proof for his arguments is again and again sought in the Old Testament. He never for a moment thought of disparaging the Scriptures to which the Jew appealed, on the contrary he recognised that the chief privilege of his nation was the possession of the oracles of God; but he maintained that those oracles had been misinterpreted. If read aright, they all pointed to Christ, was his contention. He met the

<sup>1</sup> Rom. 1. 2, 16. 26.

Jew on his own ground and bade him search the Scriptures in the light of the coming of Christ. The Rabbinic methods of interpretation were employed by him to confute the Jews; his adversaries' weapons were taken out of their own hands. But while the appeal to Scripture and the mode of interpreting it are evidence of the Apostle's Rabbinic training, the spiritual meaning which he extracts from it rises far above the dreamy, unreal allegories of Alexandria and the casuistical interpretations of the Palestinian scribe. Like the scribe who has become a disciple to the kingdom of heaven the Apostle is able to bring out of his treasure the old methods and influences of his Rabbinic learning transfigured by the new light shed on the Old Testament Scriptures by his conversion to Christianity.

We shall here make some remarks on (1) the manner of quotation, and (2) the interpretation of the O.T. by St. Paul.

Little need be said under the head of text, beyond mentioning the fact that St. Paul used the LXX almost exclusively, and did not make an independent rendering of the Hebrew text. In Text. the case of the book of Job he had a text which differed widely from our LXX<sup>1</sup>; and in other cases he appears to have followed a current text which resembled the version of Theodotion.<sup>2</sup> Other divergences may be explained by his quoting from memory. In some cases we may perhaps trace the influence of a *Targum*, the Aramaic paraphrase which he would hear

<sup>1</sup> See the two Job quotations in R. 11. 35, 1 C. 3. 19.

<sup>2</sup> 1 C. 15. 54. Cf. also R. 12. 19 (Heb. 10. 30) and 1 C. 14. 21, for texts diverging from our LXX.



read in the synagogues. Thus in Eph. 4. 8 the words of the Psalm 68. 18 are given in the form 'When he ascended up on high he took captivity captive and gave gifts unto men,' where the Hebrew has 'Thou didst receive gifts among men.' The *Targum*, written indeed considerably later, but probably representing an earlier interpretation, takes the passage of Moses and renders, 'Thou didst ascend to the firmament, Moses the prophet, thou didst take a captivity captive, thou didst teach the words of the law, thou gavest gifts to the sons of men.' It is suggested that "as the receiving of gifts seemed not consonant with the majesty of God, the paraphrast mentally substituted for לקח [to take] the verb חלק [to give], which has the same letters in a different order."<sup>1</sup> We shall see elsewhere<sup>2</sup> that St. Paul's acquaintance with the tradition of the rock which followed the Israelites (1 C. 10. 4) may also have been derived from a similar source, as the tradition occurs in the very early *Targum* of Onkelos.

The formulas used by St. Paul (*καθὼς γέγραπται, τί λέγει ἡ γραφή*; etc.) were those commonly in use among the Jews. The most striking case of the personification of Scripture is Gal. 3. 8, *προειδούσα ἡ γραφή* ὅτι . . . *προσηγγερίσατο*, which may be illustrated by the Rabbinic *רואה הכתוב*, 'et vidit scriptura,' or *במה ראה*, 'Quid vidit?' Unlike the Alexandrian writers, Philo and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, who give indefinite references to Scripture, St. Paul not unfrequently mentions the particular writer of the O.T. book referred to.<sup>3</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> See Abbott (*Internat. Crit. Comm.*), in loc. <sup>2</sup> pp. 205 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Rom. 10. 5, 19 (Moses): R. 4. 6 and 11. 9 (David): 9. 27, 29, 10. 16, 20 (Isaiah): 9. 25 (Hosea).

formula, *Ἡσαίας κρᾶζει* (R. 9. 27), is illustrated by *רנבין צור*, 'propheta clamat.' Once, where a string of O.T. passages is woven together, God is represented as the speaker (2 C. 6. 16). A reference to a section or paragraph (*parashah*) of O.T. history occurs in R. 11. 2, *ἐν Ἡλεία τί λέγει ἡ γραφή*, 'in the section concerning Elijah.' This was a common and indeed (in the absence of chapters and verses) the only mode of more nearly locating a quotation. Thus 'creatio mundi' was used for Gen. 1, 'id quod scriptum est apud Michael' refers to Is. 6. 6, 'haec vero extant apud Gabriel' to Dan. 9. 21, 'quid ille dicit in loco ubi de Davide?' (*ברור מזה הוא אומר*) to Ps. 51.<sup>1</sup>

A favourite Jewish practice was that of bringing together a series of passages from different parts of the O.T. to establish an argument (cf. the use of the verb *συμβιβάζειν* for 'to prove' or 'instruct'). "Interdum plura loca sacrae Scripturae in unum contrahi solent ad efficaciorē rei demonstrationem."<sup>2</sup> Sometimes the quotations are made from the three portions into which the O.T. was divided: 'ad maiorem rei confirmationem aliquando Mosis, Prophetarum et Hagiographorum verba allegantur';<sup>3</sup> sometimes several passages are adduced from the same book. There are several instances of this accumulation of passages in St. Paul, the most notable of which are R. 3. 10 ff., where five separate extracts from the Psalms and one from Isaiah are brought together to prove the universality of sin, and 2 C. 6. 16, where a combined quotation is formed from passages of Leviticus, Isaiah, Ezekiel and 2 Samuel to prove that

<sup>1</sup> Surenhusius, Βιβλὸς Καταλλαγῆς, pp. 31, 468.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 49.





Christians are the temple of God. In St. Paul the combined quotations are generally taken from one book or at least from one of the three divisions of the O.T. A trace of the habit of appealing to each of the three divisions of the O.T. in turn is perhaps seen in the addition of the word 'first' in R. 10. 19, where a passage from Deuteronomy is introduced by *πρῶτος Μωυσῆς λέγει*, and is followed by a quotation from Isaiah.

The theory has been suggested, and has met with some favour among critics, that there was a Jewish anthology or collection of excerpts from the O.T. in existence in the first century of our era, and that this was drawn upon by St. Paul and by sub-apostolic writers.<sup>1</sup> The existence of such an anthology is by no means improbable, but it must be said that no very convincing proofs have yet been brought forward. The most noteworthy coincidence in combination of O.T. passages which has been adduced occurs in the Epistle of Barnabas and Justin. In the eleventh chapter of the Epistle of Barnabas we find Jer. 2. 12, 13 and Is. 16. 1, introduced by *λέγει ὁ προφήτης*; in Justin, *Trypho*, 114 we find Jer. 2. 13 + Is. 16. 1 + Jer. 3. 8, introduced as a quotation from Jeremiah, and with such striking variants from the text of Barnabas as to prove that neither of the two Christian writers is dependent on the other. But this is almost a unique instance. It is true that we find the central portion of the remarkable cento of passages which we have noticed in

<sup>1</sup> Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek*, pp. 203-214 'On composite quotations from the Septuagint.' See also Vollmer, *Die alttest. Citate bei Paulus* (1895), pp. 36-48, who thinks he can find indications of an original Hebrew collection of passages.

Romans 3, recurring in Justin, *Trypho*, 27 (extracts from Ps. 14 + Ps. 5 + Ps. 140 + Is. 59) in the same order as in St. Paul; but here there can be little doubt that the Apologist is dependent on the Apostle. His acquaintance with the Epistle to the Romans is clearly established in other coincidences of quotation.<sup>1</sup> There is some probability in the theory that there was a Jewish collection of extracts on the title of 'rock' as applied to the Messiah (see below). But apart from the combination of Isaiah passages in R. 9. 33 on 'the rock' and the cento in Romans 3 on the universality of sin, the theme of the other Pauline combinations of Scripture (*e.g.* the calling of Gentiles,<sup>2</sup> the hardening of the Jews, Christians the Temple of God) is not such as to suggest a Jewish anthology; the passages are hardly those which a Jewish writer would have brought together. Although with our lack of early Rabbinical authorities we can scarcely look for proofs in a case like this, we must regard the theory of the use of a Jewish anthology by St. Paul as at present insufficiently established. Still, without going so far as to postulate a written collection of extracts, we may admit that a combination or association of some O.T. passages had become familiar to Jewish ears. This seems the most natural explanation of the origin

<sup>1</sup> Zahn, *Canon*, i. 2. 567 ff. Westcott, *Canon of N.T.*, 170. So familiar did these combined quotations of St. Paul become that they have reacted on the text of the LXX. The whole cento in R. 3 has found its way into the LXX (B text) of Psalm 14, and ultimately into our prayer-book version of that Psalm. The passage from Job, quoted in R. 11. 35, has been introduced into the A text of Isaiah 40. 14.

<sup>2</sup> See however S.-H. 336 f. This was not an impossible subject for a contemporary Jew to illustrate by excerpts. It was only after the wide extension of Christianity that the Rabbis spoke of the Gentiles as beyond all hope of salvation.



of the quotation 'Eye hath not seen' in 1 C. 2. 9, which is discussed elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> Again we find St. Paul's two favourite proof-passages in the discussion of faith and works (Gen. 15. 6 and Hab. 2. 4) associated in a Rabbinical work.<sup>2</sup> The passage from Isaiah 54. 1, 'Rejoice thou barren,' which St. Paul applies to the history of Sarah, received the same application with Jewish writers, who associated it with Is. 51. 2 ('Look unto Abraham your father and unto Sarah that bare you').<sup>3</sup>

As to the distribution in St. Paul's writings of the quotations from the O.T., it is noticeable that by far the larger number occur in the four controversial Epistles. Indeed, apart from reminiscences of O.T. language, there appear to be no more than four definite quotations in the remainder of his writings.<sup>4</sup> The use of the formal proof-text from O.T. was abandoned when the controversy with his Jewish opponents for Gentile liberty came to an end.

In a majority of the O.T. passages cited by St. Paul, all those, for instance, inculcating moral principles, the original sense of Scripture is adhered to. But there are others where this is not the case, and where we may undoubtedly see the influence of his Rabbinic training in the use to which the O.T. is put and the inferences drawn from it. Thus passages are quoted quite without regard to their original context. This is in accordance with the practice of the Rabbis, who

Interpretation  
of O.T.

Neglect of the  
context.

<sup>1</sup> p. 240 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Schemoth Rabba ap. Wetstein in Rom. 1. 17: cf. Gal. 3. 6-11.

<sup>3</sup> Lightfoot and Schöttgen on Gal. 4. 27.

<sup>4</sup> Eph. 4. 8, 5. 31: 1 Tim. 5. 18: 2 Tim. 3. 19.

held that there was an infinite fulness of meaning in the Scriptures. 'Every word of the Thorah can be expounded in 70 different ways' is one of the many similar Jewish sayings.<sup>1</sup> This neglect of the context is quite justifiable in passages which are merely used by way of illustration and not to introduce a logical argument, or where the Apostle without expressly quoting a passage couches his argument in the familiar language of the O.T. Among these instances must be classed a striking passage where the language of the law is used as an argument against the law and the righteousness obtainable thereby. In Rom. 10. 6 ff., the language of Deut. 30. 11-14 (a passage where the lawgiver asserts the nearness and easiness of fulfilment of the law, 'the commandment which I command thee this day') is made use of to prove the easiness of attaining to 'the righteousness which is of faith,' in contradistinction to the righteousness which is of the law. What was originally said of the law is here used of the Gospel. But in excuse for this bold perversion of the original sense it must be urged that St. Paul is quoting very freely, and that the words had already in his time become proverbial.<sup>2</sup> This passage further illustrates two other characteristics of the Apostle's quotations: the addition of a running commentary in the form of a short Midrash (τοῦτ' ἔστιν Χριστὸν καταγαγεῖν—τοῦτ' ἔστιν Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναγαγεῖν), and the selection of that reading

<sup>1</sup> Weber, 86 f.

<sup>2</sup> See the quotations from Philo, 2 Esdras, Baruch, and Jubilees in S.-H. in loc. *Targ. Jer. I.* has in the Deut. passage, 'For the word is nigh you in your schools.' The Rabbis used the passage to prove the finality and completeness of the law: nothing of the law remains in heaven to be revealed in the future (Weber, 18, and Schöttgen, in loc.).



which best suits his purpose. The Hebrew, followed by the LXX, has 'neither is it beyond the sea that thou shouldest say, Who shall go over the sea for us?' But St. Paul, carrying on the allusion to Christ, finds a reference to His descent into Hades by substituting a descent into the abyss for the crossing over the sea, following a reading which had apparently become current in the proverbial use of the words. See 2 Esd. 4. 8, 'Dicebas fortassis mihi: in abyssum non descendi, neque in infernum adhuc,' *Targ. Jer.* II., 'O that we had one like Jonah who could descend into the depths of the sea and bring it unto us.' The word ἄβυσσος could refer either to the depths of the sea or to the lower world, and was thus suited for the Apostle's purpose.

But there are other passages where the context is neglected and yet a logical proof is intended. Thus in Rom. 9. 25 f. two passages are quoted from Hosea to prove the calling of the Gentiles, which in the original apply to the scattered tribes of Israel who are to be restored to God's favour. But even in this interpretation St. Paul had Rabbinical support. 'Non alia de causa in exilium et captivitatem misit Deus S.B. Israelcm inter nationes nisi ut faceret multos proselytos. S.D. Oseae, 2. 25.'<sup>1</sup> In R. 2. 24 a quotation from Isaiah, 52. 5, appears in the form, 'The name of God is blasphemed through you among the Gentiles,' to prove the guilt of the Jew which is patent even to the outside world. But the original runs, 'My name continually all the day is blasphemed,' and describes the reviling of God's name by the oppressors of Israel. Here however St. Paul seems to have

<sup>1</sup> Pesachim, viii. f.; ap. Wetstein and S.-H. in loc.

availed himself of the LXX which diverges from the Hebrew<sup>1</sup>; and the insertion of καθὼς γέγραπται as an afterthought at the end of the verse shows that he is conscious of using the passage freely.

Another class of quotations where the original meaning is abandoned consists of those which are Messianically interpreted by St. Paul, although the original O.T. passages had <sup>Messianic application of O.T. passages.</sup> another sense. In several of these cases the Messianic application had been made by Jewish writers before St. Paul. (a) In R. 9. 33 two passages of Isaiah (28. 16 and 8. 14) which speak of Jehovah as the Rock, the one describing Him as the strength of those who trust in Him, the other as a stumbling-block to the unbeliever, are combined and applied to Christ. Now in the time of Justin Martyr we find λίθος occurring as a title for the Messiah and recognised as such by the Jewish disputant in the *Dialogue*.<sup>2</sup> The same two passages of Isaiah with the same variants from the LXX (ἰδοὺ τίθημι ἐν Σιών, ἐπ' αὐτῷ [in some LXX MSS.], λίθος προσκόμματος καὶ πετρὰ σκανδάλου) are combined with a third from Ps. 118. 22 (the stone rejected by the builders) in the First Epistle of Peter (2. 6). Although it is practically certain that the writer of this Epistle was acquainted with Romans, it is not impossible that the similarity here is due rather to both writers making use of a Jewish collection of proof-texts, in which these three O.T. passages were combined to

<sup>1</sup> The source of the LXX text is obscure. 'Ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν may have come from verse 10. Can δι' ὑμᾶς be a corruption of an original δι' ἡμέρας representing שנה לך, or is this another instance of the influence of St. Paul's quotations on the LXX text?

<sup>2</sup> *Dial. cum Tryphone* 34, 36.



prove that Christ was the Rock, as in the later collection of *Testimonia* by Cyprian, in which one of the chapter-headings is 'Quod idem et lapis dictus sit.'<sup>1</sup> (b) R. 10. 15, 'How beautiful are the feet of those who preach good things.' The original passage, Is. 52. 7, refers to the messengers who tell of Israel's restoration from captivity. St. Paul applies it to the appearance of the Apostles in the world, the quotation being shortened and adapted to suit his purpose. "But the whole of this section was felt by the Christians to be full of Messianic import, and this verse was used by the Rabbis of the coming of the Messiah."<sup>2</sup> (c) Again in R. 11. 26 (= Is. 59. 20 f. + 27. 9), a passage from Isaiah, Messianically applied by the Rabbis, is used to prove the ultimate salvation of all Israel in concert with the Gentiles; the substitution of ἐκ Σιών for ἔνεκεν Σιών of the LXX is perhaps a trace of the Rabbinic conception that Jerusalem was to be the centre of the future earthly kingdom of the Messiah. (d) We may quote lastly R. 15. 3, where the words 'The reproaches of them which reproach thee fell upon Me,' which in Ps. 69. 9 are a complaint of the righteous man that he has to bear the reproaches made against God, are put into the mouth of Christ Who addresses mankind. The Messianic application is here justified by the added words, 'for whatsoever things were written beforehand were written for our learning.'

In a few passages St. Paul goes further than in Allegorical and those already quoted, and interprets the typical use of O.T. law allegorically, subordinating the literal

<sup>1</sup> *Test.* ii. 16. These references are taken from S.-H. in loc.

<sup>2</sup> S.-H. in loc.

sense altogether, and finding another meaning latent in the O.T., which prefigures some event or institution under the Christian dispensation.

The application of allegorical explanation to the Scriptures undoubtedly took its rise at Alexandria, where the same method had already been applied to the interpretation of the Homeric poems. The object in each case was to explain obsolete and archaic modes of thought and expression, and to bring the ancient writing into line with more modern ideas. In the case of the O.T., the object of this style of interpretation at Alexandria was primarily *apologetic*; the materialistic language of the law needed to be spiritualized in order to find acceptance with Greek readers. It was apparently first applied (e.g. by Aristobulus) to those passages where anthropomorphic expressions were used of God: then to the laws concerning clean and unclean beasts (in the letter of Aristeas): and so its use was gradually extended. In the writings of Philo it reaches its acme. With him all idea of an historical meaning in the O.T. narrative is abandoned; fanciful meanings are extracted from every detail of Scripture; unmeaning questions are raised to which unmeaning answers are given; fixed conventional symbols are used (Adam = reason, Eve = the senses, etc.); numbers have a great fascination for him; and this whole method of interpretation has been so systematized that he can speak of οἱ τῆς ἀλληγορίας κανόνες.<sup>1</sup> To such an extent was this allegorizing process carried that the laws of the Old Testament, such as those relating to circumcision and

<sup>1</sup> See Jowett, *Epistles of St. Paul*, vol. i., Dissertation on St. Paul and Philo; and Siegfried, *Philo von Alexandria*.





the Sabbath, were in danger of falling into neglect. Philo was aware of this tendency, and expressly opposed it (*de Migr. Abr.* 16).

In Palestine the use of allegory was far more restricted. "The verse does not go beyond its simple literal sense" was one of the recognised rules of Rabbinic interpretation.<sup>1</sup> However, it is certain that in the first century the Alexandrian methods had found their way into Palestine; among the prominent Rabbinical allegorists of that time are mentioned R. Jochanan ben Sakai, R. Akiba, and R. Gamaliel II. But this style of interpretation was kept within bounds, and several passages of O.T. were specified, as we shall see, where allegorizing was strictly forbidden. There is at any rate sufficient information to show that it is not necessary to trace the occasional use of allegory in St. Paul directly to the influence of Alexandria. Its object in Palestine was not so much apologetic as practical, to find proofs in the O.T. for customs and relations of life which were non-existent and not contemplated at the time of the writing of the law.

In St. Paul the object of allegorical explanation is to find an immediate practical lesson for his hearers in the narrative of the O.T. The Bible is constantly regarded as a lesson-book for Christians. 'It was not written for his sake only, but for ours also' (R. 4. 23): 'for whatsoever things were written before were written for our learning' (R. 15. 4): the events that befell the Israelites in the wilderness were examples to us, and happened to them by way of example and were

<sup>1</sup> *Sabbath* 63. Hamburger, *R. E.* (arts. *Allegorie* and *Exegese*), is the principal authority which has been consulted on Rabbinical exegesis. See also a good article on Allegory in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*.

written for our admonition (1 C. 10. 6-11). Parallels are traced between the institutions of the old and the new dispensation; Christ is our Passover (1 C. 5. 7), the Israelites had their baptism and their Eucharist (1 C. 10).

We will briefly consider the principal passages where this method of interpretation is employed.

(a) In 1 Cor. 9. 9 the quotation 'Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn' (Deut. 25. 4) is followed by the comment *μὴ τῶν βοῶν μέλει τῷ θεῷ, ἢ δι' ἡμᾶς πάντως λέγει; δι' ἡμᾶς γὰρ ἐγγράφη, κ.τ.λ.* The O.T. passage is used both here and again in 1 Tim. 5. 18 to prove that God's labourer is worthy of his hire. The passage in Corinthians is doubly interesting, first because St. Paul here comes nearer than he does anywhere else to denying the plain meaning of the O.T., and also because the application of the allegorical method to this or kindred passages finds parallels both in Philo and in Rabbinical lore. Philo in similar language declares that God does not care about a thing so commonplace as a cloak, and therefore directions concerning a cloak in Ex. 22. 27 must have an allegorical sense; and elsewhere he says that the law was given for rational beings and not for the sake of irrational animals.<sup>1</sup> But, strangely enough, in his treatise *De Caritate*,<sup>2</sup> the passage from Deuteronomy, along with the other passages in the Pentateuch which inculcate kindness to animals, is taken in its literal sense. We learn from Rabbinical writings that the passages enjoining humanity to animals, 'Thou shalt

<sup>1</sup> *De Somn.* i. 16, *de vict. off.* 1. The passages are quoted on p. 234.

<sup>2</sup> § 19, ἀγαμαὶ δὲ καὶ ἐκείνον τὸν νόμον, ὅς καθάπερ ἐν χορῷ παναρμονίῳ συνῶδων τοῖς προτέροις διαγορεύει Βούν ἀλoῶντα μὴ φιμῶν.



not kill mother and young in one day' (Lev. 22. 28), 'Thou shalt not take the dam with the young' (Deut. 22. 6), 'Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk' (Ex. 23. 19), were among those where the use of allegorical interpretation was strictly forbidden.<sup>1</sup> But it appears that it was only towards the end of the first century that a strong reaction set in among the Rabbis against the use of allegory, owing to the extent to which it had been carried at Alexandria and also to the appropriation of the writings and the methods of Alexandria by the Christians; and the express prohibition makes it probable that these passages had been allegorically explained at an earlier date. St. Paul, we may therefore presume, is in agreement with the Rabbinical practice of his time in so explaining the passage of Deuteronomy. Whether the original sense of the O.T. is *entirely* abandoned by St. Paul depends on the meaning which is assigned to *πάντως*. If we translate it 'altogether' with A.V. and R.V., the literal meaning is apparently given up; but the use of the word elsewhere in the N.T. certainly favours the rendering of R.V.<sup>1918</sup> 'Saith he it, as doubtless he doth, for our sake?', when the literal sense will be subordinated but not rejected.<sup>2</sup> The passage will then be an instance of the Rabbinical 'argumentum a minori ad majus' (see below).

<sup>1</sup> *Jerus. Berachoth* 5, etc., ap. Hamburger, *R.E.*, art. *Allegorie*. Deut. 25. 4 is not expressly mentioned, but must, one presumes, have been included with the analogous passages.

<sup>2</sup> *πάντως* in St. Luke always = 'undoubtedly' (L. 4. 23; A. 18. 21, 21. 22, 28. 4). In St. Paul it is elsewhere always joined with a negative, meaning 'not at all,' 'certainly not' (R. 3. 9, 1 C. 5. 10, 16. 12), except in 1 C. 9. 22, where it = 'at all events,' 'by all means.' There is no support here for the meaning 'altogether,' i.e. for our sakes, 'to the exclusion of all others.'

(b) The section 1 Cor. 10. 1-11 is a marked instance of St. Paul's 'typical' use of O.T.<sup>1</sup> The blessings and the punishments which fell to the lot of the Israelites in the wilderness are here regarded as types of the privileges and perils of the Christian. Their passage through the sea and under the cloud are figures of baptism; the heaven-sent manna and the water from the rock typify the Eucharistic meal. Throughout the section those passages in the O.T. narrative are selected which can be made to bear directly on the circumstances of the Corinthian Church. We have discussed elsewhere<sup>2</sup> in connexion with its Jewish parallels the most important phrase, 'the rock which followed them, and the rock was Christ.' It is sufficient here to remark that the fanciful Rabbinic legend of an itinerant rock is taken up and spiritualized; that the identification of the rock with Christ finds some illustration in Alexandrian thought: first in Wisdom, where it is *σοφία* which brings water from the rock: and then more clearly in Philo, who identifies both the manna and the rock with the Divine *λόγος*; that in view of the early Rabbinic use of 'the rock' as a title of the Messiah, this identification had possibly also been introduced into Rabbinic circles in St. Paul's time<sup>3</sup>; that there

<sup>1</sup> For Jewish typology see Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, II. 159 f., 264. He quotes from *Ir Gibborim*, fol. 52, col. 3: "Our Rabbis of blessed memory have said that the fathers are types (*vorbilder*) to their sons, but they have not explained in what things they were types to their sons; therefore have we held it right to expound this of all their circumstances, that they were a type of the future. Therefore all the accidents (*zufälle*) of the fathers and the unfruitfulness of the mothers are a type of that which had to be borne by the Israelites among the nations."

<sup>2</sup> p. 205 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Justin, *Dial.* 114 e (quoted by Meyer-Heinrich in *loc.*), *Χριστὸς ἡ καλὴ πέτρα πορίζουσα τοὺς βουλομένους*.



is an unmistakable reference to the pre-existence of Christ, who is regarded as really guiding the Israelite host ( $\eta\upsilon$ , not  $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu$  or  $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\varsigma \eta\upsilon$ ); and lastly, that the literal truth of the O.T. narrative is not sacrificed for the sake of the lessons to be drawn from it.

(c) But the most highly allegorical passage in St. Paul is the section Gal. 4. 21-31, containing the allegory of the two sons of Abraham. The bond-woman Hagar in St. Paul's interpretation stands for the old covenant given from Sinai; Sarah, it is implied, represents the new covenant of grace and freedom. St. Paul justifies his identification of Hagar with Sinai by the fact that the Arabian desert, in which Sinai lies, was the home of Hagar's descendants, or (as some suppose) by the fact that Sinai was locally spoken of in the Arabian peninsula as Hadjar, 'the rock.' In the latter part of the section an illustration of the present persecutions which Christians undergo from Jews is drawn from the persecution which according to Jewish tradition Isaac underwent at the hands of Ishmael. We have in another chapter<sup>1</sup> considered this tradition, and quoted Jewish illustrations for the emphasis which was laid on the birth of Isaac, 'the child of promise,' as something miraculous and supernatural. We will here briefly touch on a few other details in this difficult section.

$\alpha\tau\iota\nu\acute{\alpha} \epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu \alpha\lambda\lambda\eta\gamma\omicron\rho\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha$  (4. 24). This may be rendered (1) 'which things are spoken in an allegory,' i.e. the allegorical meaning was intended in the original writing, or (2) 'which things are capable of (and do actually receive) an allegorical interpretation.' The latter is most probably right; and the

<sup>1</sup> p. 212 ff.

phrase suggests that St. Paul was conscious that the passage was one which had already received allegorical treatment. It is, however, doubtful whether the word  $\alpha\tau\iota\nu\alpha$  can have the wider sense which Lightfoot gives to it, 'which class of things,' as though this was one out of several passages which might be so treated; see the use just below in verses 25 and 27 (and in Apoc. 11. 8) of the word  $\eta\tau\iota\varsigma$ , which appears to be the regular rendering of the Hebrew  $\text{הֵן}$ , used in defining the terms of an allegory.

$\sigma\upsilon\nu\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$  (verse 25). It is possible, as Lightfoot says, that in using this word "St. Paul is alluding to some mode of representation common with Jewish teachers to exhibit this and similar allegories." But we have not sufficient information on Jewish allegory to confirm this. The arrangement must have been something like that of two parallel columns as shown in Lightfoot: Hagar, Ishmael, old covenant, earthly Jerusalem standing in one column ( $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\chi\alpha$ ) over against their opposites ( $\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\chi\alpha$ ) in the other. The suggestion that in  $\sigma\upsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\chi\acute{\iota}\alpha$  there is an allusion to the Rabbinic practice known as Gematria,<sup>1</sup> i.e. the tracing of equalities between the numerical values of the letters composing different words, has nothing to recommend it.

*Text and meaning of verse 25a.* Into this question the limits of our subject do not require us to make a searching investigation. No light has at present been thrown on the verse by Jewish methods of allegorizing. It is sufficient to say that the principal mss. read either (1)  $\tau\omicron \delta\epsilon \text{ "Αγαρ Σινά ὅρος ἔστιν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ}$  (W.-H.), or (2)  $\tau\omicron \gamma\acute{\alpha\rho} \Sigma\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}, \kappa.\tau.\lambda.$  (Lightfoot); and that

<sup>1</sup> Weber, 121.



the MSS. are strangely divided, (2) having the majority of MSS. in its favour, while 'transcriptional evidence' supports the other and harder reading. If (2) is read, the sentence will either be (a) a mere geographical note, which would hardly be required by the Galatian or Jewish readers, and would be out of place in this highly allegorical passage, or (b) it will afford a justification of the parallel between Hagar and Sinai, because Sinai is in Arabia, and Arabia is the country of the Hagarenes; but the ellipse of the second clause in the argument, which is left for the readers to supply, makes this explanation improbable. Adopting the reading (1) there are again two possible explanations. (a) 'The word Hagar (τὸ Ἄγαρ) means in Arabia mount Sinai.' St. Paul, according to this interpretation, is alluding to the Arabic word Hadschar (Chagar), 'a rock,' which during his stay 'in Arabia' he had heard applied to the mountain; the theory is supported by a rather vague statement of Chrysostom, and another statement (of doubtful value) of the traveller Harant in the 16th century to the effect that Sinai was locally called Agar. The great improbability of this theory, apart from other reasons on the ground that the initial letters of the Hebrew and Arabic words are different, is sufficiently shown by Lightfoot. It is, however, supported by Meyer and other authorities. On the whole the best explanation appears to be that of Dr. Hort, (b) that ὄρος is to be taken with both subject and predicate, 'Mount Agar (cf. 'mount Ephraim,' 'mount Esau,' etc.) is mount Sinai in Arabia.' The meaning is the same as that of 2 (b), but it has the advantage of leaving nothing to be understood. The home of Hagar and her descendants is, as you know, Mount Sinai.

ἡ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλὴμ . . . ἣτις ἐστὶν μὴτις ἡμῶν [πάντων] (verse 26). Here we have a common Rabbinical phrase, which, however, has lost the material sense attaching to it in Jewish writings. In them the heavenly or upper Jerusalem (ירושלם של מעלה, Weber 404) is the glorified counterpart of the earthly city, which has existed from eternity with God, and will at the last descend to earth to take the place of the existing city. The principal references in the Apocryphal works are *Enoch*, 90. 28, 29, where 'the old house' is described as being folded up and removed, and a new house greater and larger than the first is set up in its place; 2 *Esdras* 7. 26, 9. 38-10, the vision of a woman who is transformed into the heavenly city, which has existed from eternity, and is built where no human habitation could exist (10. 54): it is the earthly Jerusalem which in this book is spoken of as 'Sion mater nostra omnium' (10. 7); 2 *Esd.* 13. 35, 36, its appearance on earth; *Apoc. Baruch* 3 and 4. In this last passage 'my mother' is again the title applied to the earthly city which is to be given up to her enemies. But Baruch is warned that this is not the city "which will be revealed, that which was prepared beforehand here from the time when I took counsel to make Paradise and showed it to Adam before he sinned," and which was afterwards shown to Abraham and to Moses on Sinai, and is now preserved with God.<sup>1</sup> With St. Paul, as Lightfoot remarks, the term becomes "a symbol or image, representing that spiritual city of which the Christian is even now a denizen (*Phil.* iii. 20)." There is an emphasis on the final ἡμῶν; 'the

<sup>1</sup> See for further literature Charles' note *in loc.* Cp. esp. *Test. XII. Patr.* Dan. 5: Heb. 12. 22, *Apoc.* 3. 12, 21. 2, 10 ff.





mother of us Christians is not the earthly Jerusalem, which the Jews fondly call 'our mother,' but a heavenly city, and that a very different city to the future Jerusalem as conceived by the Rabbis.'

*Use of Isaiah 54. 1.* This passage, originally spoken of the deliverance from captivity, was, as we have seen,<sup>1</sup> by Jewish writers associated with 51. 2, 'Look unto Abraham your father, and unto Sarah that bare you.' 'Sterilitas Abrahæ et Saræ figura fuit sterilitatis Sion.'<sup>2</sup>

The contrast with Philo's allegory of the same O.T. narrative is drawn out by Lightfoot (*Gal.* ed. 10. 198-200). Philo is entirely unhistorical. Hagar, rightly interpreted by him (so far as etymology goes) as *παροίκησις*, represents the instruction of the schools, Sarah is divine wisdom, Abraham is the seeker after knowledge, who must pass through the preliminary training of the schools (the union with Hagar) before he is fitted for initiation into the higher wisdom (the marriage with Sarah). There can be little doubt that St. Paul is influenced here solely by Rabbinic methods of allegory, and is in no way indebted to Alexandrian thought. It is true that the passage, *Is.* 54. 1, is one of the very few quotations from that book made by Philo,<sup>3</sup> but the quotation is made in an entirely different connexion; Lightfoot's assumption that the story of Hagar and Sarah was present to his mind when he quoted it hardly appears to be justified.

(d) Another O.T. passage from which an allegorical meaning is extracted is the story of the veil which Moses placed over his face as expounded in 2 Cor. 3. In the first place the vanishing of the glory on Moses'

<sup>1</sup>p. 186. <sup>2</sup>*I. Gibborim*, ap. Lightfoot. <sup>3</sup>*De Excerpt.* M. ii. 434.

face, which the veil was intended to hide, is explained as typifying the transitory nature of the law, the knowledge of which Moses wished to keep back from the Jews; then by a fresh figure, the veil is taken to be significant of the blindness of the Jews at the reading of the Scriptures, 'it not being revealed that it (the old covenant) is done away in Christ' (3. 14, R.V.<sup>mg.</sup>).<sup>1</sup>

Leaving the consideration of his allegorical interpretation, we may note a few other points in St. Paul's mode of using the O.T. which admit of illustration from Jewish sources. These are the running commentary (*R.* 10. 5 ff., 16 ff., where the opponent's questions are put and answered, *G.* 3. 10 ff., *E.* 4. 8), the addition of commentary to text as though forming part of the quotation (1 C. 15. 45 ff.), the stress laid on individual words (*G.* 3. 16, *σπέρματι*). This last habit is common to Rabbinic and Alexandrian exposition; it is a more marked characteristic of the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews than of St. Paul. We have touched on the difficult passage of Galatians elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

One other point may be noted, which at first sight would not be taken to be specially a Jewish trait. This is St. Paul's frequent use of the *The a fortiori* 'argumentum a fortiori.'<sup>3</sup> Among the *argument.* seven rules of Old Testament interpretation which are ascribed to Hillel, and which were afterwards increased to thirteen by R. Ismael, the first place was given to that known as 'Light and heavy' (*קל וחומר*);<sup>4</sup> this

<sup>1</sup>Cf. p. 75 f.

<sup>2</sup>p. 70 f.

<sup>3</sup>*πολλῶ μᾶλλον* usually preceded by a protasis with *εἰ γὰρ* or *εἰ δέ* (*R.* 5. 9, 10, 15, 17, 2 C. 3. 9, 11). Cf. *R.* 11. 12, 24 (*πῶς μ.*): 2 C. 3. 8 (*πῶς οὐχί μ.*): *R.* 11. 15, 16 (*εἰ γὰρ . . . τίς . . . ; εἰ δέ . . . καὶ*): 1 C. 6. 3 (*μητιγέ βιωτικά*).

<sup>4</sup>Weber, 110 f.



rule sanctioned the use of *argumenta a minori ad majus* in interpreting the O.T. That which holds good of the less holds good also of the greater, and *vice versa*. As instances of the application of this rule we may quote the following: 'Silence is beautiful for the wise—much more then for the fool'; the duty of praying before meat is deduced from the command to pray after meat (Deut. 8. 10). The form of words used is often the same as in St. Paul, 'but if . . . how much more' (על אהת כמה וכמה). It seems most likely that the constant use of this form of argument by St. Paul, not necessarily in arguing from the O.T., is a trace of the primary Rabbinic rule of Scriptural interpretation current in his day.

We have seen then that in his use of the O.T. St. Paul was thoroughly a child of his time. In his mode of quotation, his neglect of the original context, his Messianic interpretation of passages which originally had no Messianic reference, and his occasional resort to one of the two opposite forms to which Jewish exegesis inclined—the straining of the letter (σπέρματι, G. 3. 16) or the highly allegorical exposition—in all these the influence of the Rabbinic schools is unmistakable. In what, then, it may be asked, lay the superiority of St. Paul to the Rabbis? The answer is, in his spiritual insight into the general meaning of the O.T. The allegory, the scripture-proof, the forced argument, these do not constitute the greatness of the Apostle. His superiority lies rather in his grasping the correct spirit of the O.T., and in particular of those Hebrew prophets to whom he felt himself akin. "Allegorical and incorrect exegesis could never create an idea. They only illustrate one which has been

suggested in other ways."<sup>1</sup> He is not to be judged by incorrect interpretation of individual passages. He believed that there was a mystical meaning in the O.T., and we cannot doubt that he was divinely guided to grasp that meaning. 'The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life'<sup>2</sup> was his guiding principle in interpreting the O.T. Christianity, he says, has its mysterious wisdom which is revealed to believers by the Spirit, 'but the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God . . . for they are spiritually discerned . . . but we have the mind of Christ,'<sup>3</sup> or as he says in more humble language elsewhere, 'I think that I too have the Spirit of God.'<sup>4</sup> But the arguments by which he tried to convince his opponents of the true meaning of the O.T. as pointing forward to Christ, are those which they would themselves have employed for another purpose; and to some extent we need not doubt that they were selected for that very reason. They were the arguments which were best calculated to appeal to them. Still, though the position taken up by his adversaries must never be lost sight of in considering the reasoning of the Apostle, the explanation that he is using their weapons is not sufficient by itself to account for his manner of exegesis, and does not invalidate the undoubted and perfectly natural fact, which calls for no further explanation, that his modes of interpretation and argument were coloured and limited by the ideas of his time and country.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> S.-H. 306. <sup>2</sup> 1 C. 3. 6. <sup>3</sup> 1 C. 2. 6-16. <sup>4</sup> 1 C. 7. 40.

<sup>5</sup> See further, Vollmer, *Alltest. Citate*, 57 ff., 77; Toy, *Quotations in the N.T.*, Preface; Lightfoot, *Gal.* 200, and especially S.-H., *Romans*, 302-307.



## CHAPTER VIII.

## ST. PAUL THE HAGGADIST.

IN some few passages St. Paul for purposes of illustration has recourse to Jewish legends with regard to persons and events in Old Testament history. Rabbinic commentaries on the O.T., as is well known, take one of two forms; one class is known as Halachah, and consists of casuistical discussions as to the meaning and application of minute points of the Mosaic law and ritual, the other is known as Haggadah, and consists of the embellishment of the plain historical narrative by legendary accretions. It is with the latter class of commentary with which we are here concerned. Its influence in the N.T. is seen especially in St. Stephen's speech in Acts vii.; there is also probably an allusion to the legendary method of Isaiah's death in Heb. 11. 37 (ἐπίσθηναι), and there is the allusion to the dispute concerning the body of Moses in Jude 9 (where the writer is probably using the *Assumption of Moses*). We will here consider three of the undoubted instances of the use of such legendary matter in St. Paul.

Foremost among these is the passage in 1 Cor. 10,

where the Apostle in discussing the question of the propriety of partaking of εἰδωλοθύτα urges the danger of falling into temptation by so doing, and after an allusion to the abstinence of the combatants in the Greek games (9. 24-27) adds an illustration from Jewish history for the sake of his Jewish readers. 'I would not have you ignorant that our fathers were all under the cloud and all passed through the sea: and were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea: and did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink, for they drank of a spiritual rock that followed them (ἐκ πνευματικῆς ἀκολουθούσης πέτρας), and the rock was Christ.'

Now we find a Jewish legend, which can be traced back at any rate to the very beginning of the second century, that the Israelites in their wanderings through the wilderness were accompanied by a marvellous well or rock, which in some unexplained way rolled alongside of the host over hill and dale, halting where they halted, and moving when they took up their march, so that they were continually supplied with water. This well was specially connected with Miriam, as the other two attendant gifts to which St. Paul alludes, the column of cloud and the manna, were said to be given on account of the merits of Aaron and Moses respectively. As we shall see that this legend occurs in the earliest source of Rabbinic lore to which we have access, there cannot be the least doubt that St. Paul is alluding to it when he speaks of the ἀκολουθούσα πέτρα, although several commentators refuse to admit that there is any such reference.

As the explanation of the genesis of this legend does



not appear to be widely known, it will be worth while briefly to consider it.<sup>1</sup> Its origin is to be sought not in either of the two accounts of the bringing of water from the rock at Horeb (Exod. 17. 6) and at Kadesh (Numb. 20. 2 ff.),<sup>2</sup> but in the episode of the finding of the well, which is inserted in the middle of a list of the stations at which the Israelites halted, in Numbers 21. 16 ff. The growth of the legend out of this passage will at once be made apparent, if we set side by side the renderings of the R.V. and of the earlier and later *Targums* on that passage.

Numbers xxi. (R.V.).	<i>Targum</i> of Onkelos. <sup>3</sup>	<i>Targum</i> of Palestine <sup>3</sup> (about 7th cent.).
16. And from thence [they journeyed] to Beer: that is the well whereof the Lord said unto Moses, Gather Me the people together, and I will give them water.	And thence was given to them the well, which is the well whereof the Lord spake to Moshch, Gather the people together, and I will give them water.	And from thence was given to them the living well, the well concerning which the Lord said to M., Assemble the people and give them water. Then behold Israel sang the thanksgiving of this song at the time that the well which had been hidden was restored to them through the merit of Miriam. Spring up, O well, spring up, O well, sang they to it, and it sprang up: the well which the fathers of the world Abraham,
17. Then sang Israel this song: Spring up O well, sing ye unto it:	Therefore sang Israel this song: Spring up O well, sing ye to it:	
18. The well which the princes digged, which the nobles of	The well which the princes digged, the chiefs of the people	

<sup>1</sup> The writer was not aware, when this essay was written, that in the following explanation he had been anticipated by Dr. Driver in the *Expositor*, 1889, i. 15 ff. He is indebted for this reference to Dr. Sanday.

<sup>2</sup> The only difference from the Biblical account in the *Targums* on these passages is the striking legend in the later Palestinian *Targum* on Numb. 20. 2: 'And Moses lifted up his hand and with his rod struck the rock twice: at the first time it dropped blood, but at the second time there came forth a multitude of waters.'

<sup>3</sup> The version of the two *Targum* passages is that of Etheridge.

Numbers xxi. (R.V.).	<i>Targum</i> of Onkelos.	<i>Targum</i> of Palestine (about 7th cent.).
the people delved, with the sceptre and with their staves.	cut it, the scribes with their staves.	Isaac, and Jacob digged: the princes who were of old digged it and the chiefs of the people: M. and Aaron the scribes of Israel found it with their rods, and from the wilderness was it given to them for a gift.
And from the wilderness [they journeyed] to Mattanah:	It was given to them in the wilderness.	
19. And from Mattanah to Nahaliel, and from Nahaliel to Bamoth:	And from (the time) that it was given to them, it descended with them to the rivers, and from the rivers it went up with them to the height [or 'to Ramatha'], and from the height to the vale which is in the fields of Moab, at the head of Ramatha which looketh towards Bethjeshimon.	And from thence it was given to them in Mattanah: turning it went up with them to the high mountains, and from the high mountains it went down with them to the hills surrounding all the camp of Israel, and giving them drink every one at the door of his tent.
20. And from Bamoth to the valley that is in the field of Moab, to the top of Pisgah, which looketh down upon the desert.		And from the high mountains it descended with them to the lower hills, but was hidden from them on the borders of Moab, at the summit of the hill looking towards Bethjeshimon, because there they neglected the words of the law.

It is at once a striking fact that the legend occurs in the older *Targum* of Onkelos, which is as a rule extremely literal and free from such accretions. This *Targum*, if not actually committed to writing so early as the first century, at any rate rests on an original unwritten rendering which was in vogue in the first century; and the Aramaic rendering of this passage of Numbers which St. Paul would hear read in the syna-





gogues doubtless agreed with the text given in the second column above. The legend has arisen from the ellipse of a word in the Hebrew. In the list of halting-places the verb 'they journeyed,' which the R.V. inserts, is omitted in the Hebrew, being readily understood; and the last words of verse 18, 'And from the wilderness (to) Mattanah,' might equally well be rendered 'And from the wilderness a gift,' as Onkelos actually took them. This rendering was the more natural as the cognate verb נָתַן, 'to give,' had been used just before of the well in verse 16 ('I will give them water'). The Targumist having thus taken the clause in which the writer rather abruptly reverts to the journeyings to refer not to the people but to the well, it was natural that the subsequent clauses should also be so taken by him; 'and from the giving of it [it descended with them] to the rivers,' etc. The first name which follows Mattanah, namely Nahaliel, would also seem to be significant, meaning 'rivers of God,' and would assist this interpretation. So through the omission of a verb a bare statement of the halting-places of the Israelites has been converted into a miraculous story of an itinerant well. The legend would then naturally grow as we see it has done in the later *Targum*; the gift of water at the beginning and end of the wanderings would be associated with this passage, and the well would be regarded as accompanying them throughout the whole of their journeys.

We will quote a few other references to the story from the *Book of Biblical Antiquities* attributed to Philo, a work which dates from the end of the first or early in the second century.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Cohn in *J.Q.R.*, Jan. 1898, p. 327. 'The book was written after the destruction of the second temple. The unknown author cannot, however, have lived very long after that event.'

P. 303.<sup>1</sup> 'During forty years He rained bread from heaven and gave them quails from the sea and brought forth for them a well of water which followed them' (et puteum aquae consequentis eduxit eis).

P. 304. (A description of the 40 days in the Mount.) 'Et ibi ei mandavit multa, et ostendit ei lignum vitae, de quo abscidit et accepit et misit in myrrham et dulcis facta est aqua myrrhae [Ex. 15. 25], et sequebatur eos in eremo annos XL et ascendit in montem cum eis et descendit in campos, et praecepit ei de tabernaculo,' etc. The water of Marah is here woven into the legend. In the italicized words we trace the influence of the *Targum* rendering of the passage in Numbers.

P. 310. 'Et haec sunt tria quae dedit populo suo deus propter tres homines, id est puteum aquae myrrhae pro Maria, et columnam nubis pro Aaron, et manna pro Mose. Et finitis his tribus ablata sunt haec tria dona ab illis.'<sup>2</sup>

It will be sufficient to add lastly the reference given by Schöttgen (*Hor. Heb.* p. 623) to a later work, *Jalkut Rubeni*, fol. 144. 4, and quoted in most of the commentaries on St. Paul, 'Quomodo comparatus fuit ille puteus (Numb. 21. 16)? Resp. Fuit sicut petra, sicut alveus apum, et globosus, et volutavit se, et ivit cum ipsis in itineribus ipsorum. Cum vexilla castra ponerent, et tabernaculum staret, illa petra venit et

<sup>1</sup> The references are to the book entitled *Mikropresbutikon* (Basle, 1550), where the pseudo-Philo occupies pp. 295-340.

<sup>2</sup> The same account is given in the second century Midrashim, *Mechilta* and *Sifre* (Weber, 311). The death of Miriam is immediately followed by a lack of water in Numb. 20. 1, 2. Cf. also Taylor's *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, pp. 84 and 171. 'The mouth of the well' was among the ten things created between the completion of the six days of creation and the Sabbath.



consedit in atrio tentorii. Tunc venerunt principes et juxta illum steterunt, dicentes Ascende putee, et ascendit.'

This digression into Jewish Haggadah is merely intended to show how early and widespread this legend was, and to disprove the statement that such childish fancies could not have been known or alluded to by St. Paul. The legend was certainly in existence in his time, and must have been among the traditions in which he was so proficient (Gal. 1. 14). The association of cloud, manna and rock as in those traditions implies that they were present to his mind.

But St. Paul has recourse to the legend only to draw an allegorical meaning from it. 'These things were types of us,' 'these things happened to them by way of types' (vv. 6, 11). 'The rock was Christ.' He is clearly drawing a comparison between the Christian institutions of baptism and the Eucharist, to the latter of which he alludes just below (verse 16), and the blessings which the Israelites enjoyed—the baptism into Moses and the partaking of that 'spiritual food' which was always within their reach, and was typical of the body and blood of Christ of which the Christian may continually partake.

But even in this personification of the rock he was not without precedent in Jewish thought. Philo, who is apparently ignorant of the Rabbinic legend, has several references to the passage in Numbers about the well, which he identifies with the Wisdom or the Word of God. The following are the chief of these:

*Leg. alleg.* ii. 21. καὶ δίψα καταλαμβάνει ἡ τῶν παθῶν μέχρῃς ἂν ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἀκροτόμου σοφίας ἑαυτοῦ τὸ

νῆμα ἐπιπέμψῃ καὶ ποτίσῃ τὴν τραπέισαν ψυχὴν ἀμεταβλήτῳ ὑγείᾳ· ἡ γὰρ ἀκροτόμος πέτρα ἡ σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστίν, ἣν ἄκραν καὶ πρωτίστην ἔτεμεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεων, ἐξ ἧς ποτίζει τὰς φιλοθέους ψυχάς.

*Quod deterius* 31 (commenting on Deut. 32. 13). πέτραν τὴν στερεὰν καὶ ἀδιάσκοπον ἐμφαίνων σοφίαν θεοῦ, τὴν τρόφον καὶ τιθηνοκόμον καὶ κουροτρόφον τῶν ἀφθάρτου διαίτης ἐφιμένων. Later on the rock is identified with the manna, τὸν πρεσβύτατον τῶν ὄντων λόγον θεῖον.

Again in *De Somn.* ii. 41 and in *De ebrietate* 29 the finding of the well (which may only be dug by princes, not by persons who are *ιδιώται παιδείας*) is likened to the finding of wisdom. Similarly in the Book of Wisdom, 10. 17, wisdom is identified with the cloudy pillar ('She became unto them a covering in the day-time and a flame of stars through the night'); in 11. 4 the water from the rock is given by, but not identified with, wisdom.

Thus while the word ἀκολουθούσης in St. Paul clearly brings him into connexion with the Palestinian legend, the identification of the rock with Christ finds its closest parallel in Alexandrian thought. The latter parallel, though striking, is not however sufficient to prove any literary indebtedness to Philo, but only shows that he was not unwilling to have recourse to the allegorical methods of interpretation which were in vogue in Palestine no less than in Alexandria. That the identification of the Messiah with the rock which was in the desert was possible also in Rabbinic circles, is shown by the *Targum* on Isaiah 16. 1 (quoted by Wetstein): "Afferrent dona Messiae Israelitorum,



qui robustus erit, propterea quod in deserto fuit rupes ecclesiae Zionis;" but that *Targum* is of course considerably later than St. Paul.

The passage which more than any other in the Pauline Epistles is coloured by the Apostle's Rabbinic training is the allegory drawn from the history of the two sons of Abraham in Gal. 4. 21-31. The use of allegorical interpretation, the Jewish idea of election, the contrast of the natural son and the son of promise, the 'upper Jerusalem' which is 'our mother,' the application of Isaiah 54. 1 to the history of Abraham and the persecution of Isaac by Ishmael, all these find parallels in Jewish writings. It is the last of these points only which we will here illustrate; some other aspects of the passage have been already considered.<sup>1</sup>

'But as then he that was born after the flesh persecuted (ἐδίωκε) him who was after the spirit, so also is it now. But what saith the Scripture, Cast out the handmaid and her son,' etc. (Gal. 4. 29, 30). The reference is to the story of the feast which Abraham made on the day when Isaac was weaned: Gen. 21. 9, 10, 'And Sarah saw the son of Hagar the Egyptian, which she had borne unto Abraham, mocking (R.V. "playing"). Wherefore she said unto Abraham, Cast out this bondwoman and her son,' etc. The Hebrew word *לִצְחָק* might mean either 'mocking' or 'playing': but the anger of Sarah seems to require the adoption of the former sense with the R.V.<sup>14</sup> The LXX renders *παίζοντα μετὰ Ἰσαὰκ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐαυτῆς*, which looks as if some words had fallen out from the Hebrew through homoioteleuton. The meaning 'playing' is adopted by the *Book of Jubilees* (17), 'When Sarah saw

<sup>1</sup> P. 196 ff.

Ishmael, how he was joyful and danced, and also Abraham rejoiced thereat, she was jealous at the appearance of Ishmael, and said to Abraham,' etc. But the other sense seems to have been the more usual interpretation: and the mocking was exaggerated to mean downright persecution. The earliest Midrash on the passage which we have (sixth century) gives the following quaint account of this persecution:<sup>1</sup> "R. Asaria nomine R. Levi dixit: Dixit Ismael Isaaco, Eamus et videamus portionem nostram in agro: et tulit Ismael arcum et sagittas et jaculatus est Isaacum et prae se tulit ac si luderet (Prov. 26. 19)." Ishmael's skill in archery (Gen. 21. 20) is here made use of to explain the 'mocking' of an earlier verse in the chapter. We need not suppose that this particular legend was known to or endorsed by St. Paul, but we see from the above Midrash that this had become a recognised comment on the passage, handed down from one Rabbi to another; and the 'persecution,' of which St. Paul speaks, no doubt refers to some similar extension of O.T. history.

Jerome<sup>2</sup> alludes to conflicting explanations of the passage; *Quaest. in Gen., ad loc.*: "Quod sequitur 'cum Isaac filio suo' non habetur in Hebraeo. Dupliciter itaque hoc ab Hebraeis exponitur, sive quod idola ludo fecerit, juxta illud quod alibi scriptum est, 'Sedit populus . . . ludere' [Ex. 32. 6]: Sive quod adversum Isaac quasi majoris aetatis joco sibi et ludo primogenita vindicaret."

No doubt when St. Paul speaks of the persecution of Isaac by Ishmael, he has also in mind the subse-

<sup>1</sup> *Beresch. Rabba*, 53. 15, ap. Wetstein.

<sup>2</sup> The reference is given by Beer, *Leben Abraham's*.



quent history, and is thinking of the rivalry of their descendants and the aggressions of Arabs and Hagarenes upon Israel, just as in the similar passage in Romans (9. 6-13), where the election of Isaac and Jacob and the rejection of Ishmael and Esau is dwelt on, the history of their descendants is bound up with the history of the individuals; but that the primary allusion is to the Jewish legend (τότε) cannot be denied. We note that as in the previous instance of the rock, the Rabbinic legend is only referred to in a highly allegorical passage, and, as in that case, to add point to a comparison between the history of Israel and the history of Christianity. No weight is attached to the legend, which is only referred to by way of illustration.

The contrast between the son born in the course of nature (κατὰ σάρκα γεννηθείς) and the son of promise (δι' ἐπαγγελίας, cf. R. 9. 8, 9) finds a parallel in Philo, which may be quoted here. Commenting on Sarah's words in Gen. 21. 6, γέλωτά μοι ἐποίησεν Κύριος, he interprets them as meaning that God may be considered to be the true father of Isaac (= γέλως). Δημιουργὸς<sup>1</sup> γὰρ ὁ θεὸς σπουδαίου γέλωτος καὶ χαρᾶς ἐστίν, ὥστε οὐ γενέσεως πλάσμα τὸν Ἰσαὰκ, ἔργον δὲ τοῦ ἀγενήτου νομιστέον. εἰ γὰρ γέλως μὲν Ἰσαὰκ ἐρμηνεύεται, γέλωτος δὲ ποιήτης ὁ θεὸς κατὰ τὴν Σάρρας ἀψευδῆ μαρτυρίαν, καὶ τοῦ Ἰσαὰκ ὀρθότατα λέγουσι εἶναι πατὴρ. Rabbinic writers also attached great importance to the birth of Isaac and spoke of it as something supernatural; they did not indeed go so far as to speak of Isaac as begotten of God, but they represented Sarah as receiving strength through the

<sup>1</sup> Quod deterius, 33.

direct intervention of God to bear a child in her old age, and Abraham being made 'a new creature' in order to beget a son.<sup>1</sup> We may not unreasonably trace the reflexion of these Jewish beliefs in the wonders attending upon the birth of Isaac hinted at in R. 4. 19, 20 (cf. Hebr. 11. 11, 12), and in the contrast which is drawn in the present passage between the son born according to the flesh and the son of promise.

Admitting as we do the authenticity of the Pastoral Epistles, we need not hesitate to refer to them for an illustration of St. Paul's use of Jewish (3) Jannes and Haggadah. In speaking of the evildoers Jambres. who shall arise in the last days, he says (2 Tim. 3. 8, 9), "And like as Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, so do these also withstand the truth, men corrupted in mind, reprobate concerning the faith. But they shall proceed no further, for their folly shall be evident unto all men, as theirs also came to be." Jannes and Jambres were the traditional Jewish names of the magicians at the court of Pharaoh, who according to the Biblical account succeeded in imitating the first three miracles which Moses and Aaron wrought before the king, but failed to carry their imitations further, and were smitten with boils like the rest of the Egyptians, when they could not stand before (or 'resist,' רָסַק רָסַק, סָתָן עָנָוִן) Moses because of the boils.<sup>2</sup>

According to Origen St. Paul obtained the names from a book called *The Book of Jannes and Mambres*; according to Theodoret they are taken by him from

<sup>1</sup> Ber. Rabba, ap. Weber, 265.

<sup>2</sup> Exod. 7. 11, 12, 22, 8. 7, 9. 11.





unwritten Jewish tradition.<sup>1</sup> It should be added that 'Western' authorities in the N.T. (FG, latt. verss. Orig.<sup>int.</sup>, etc.) give the second name in the form of Μαμβρης. As the names are fairly common in Jewish writers, and are even found in heathen works, it will perhaps not be out of place to collect the various allusions to them.

Most of the Jewish authorities, it is true, are late; the names do not occur in the *Targum* of Onkelos or in the *Book of Jubilees* (see chap. 48).

(i) Allusions  
in Jewish  
writings.

According to the later authorities they are represented as magicians at the court of Pharaoh, and sons of Balaam, who is constantly spoken of in Rabbinic writings as a wizard; they foretold the birth of Moses (*Targ. Pal.* on Exod. 2), and opposed Moses when he sought to persuade Pharaoh to liberate the Israelites; they were the two young men who accompanied Balaam on his mission to Balak (*Targ. Pal.* on Numb. 22. 22). They were among the mixed multitude who went up out of Egypt with the Israelites (Ex. 12. 38), and afterwards instigated them to make the golden calf. According to one of the latest traditions they became proselytes to Judaism. Various accounts were given of their death; according to one account they attempted to fly and were drowned in the Red Sea (this resembles traditions about Simon Magus), according to another they were killed in the slaughter which followed the

<sup>1</sup> Orig. in *Matt.* 117 (Migne, vol. 13, col. 1769), Quod ait 'sicut Janes et Mambres restiterunt Mosi' non invenitur in publicis scripturis, sed in libro secreto, qui superscribitur Janes et Mambres liber. Theodoret in loc. τὰ μέντοι τούτων ὀνόματα οὐκ ἐκ τῆς θείας γραφῆς μεμάθηκεν ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ἀγράφου τῶν Ἰουδαίων διδασκαλίας.

worshipping of the golden calf (Exod. 32. 28). The traditions it will be seen are not altogether consistent; belonging to different dates they probably represent accretions which gradually became attached to an original myth.<sup>1</sup>

But if the late date of the Jewish writings in which these stories are told is considered insufficient evidence for their existence in the time of St. Paul, (ii) Heathen and perhaps even to tell against the authenticity of the Pastoral Epistles, there is other evidence to show that the names were well known outside Palestine as early as the first century. Three heathen writers mention one or both names.

Pliny the Elder (23-79 A.D.) in the book of his *Natural History* which deals with magic,<sup>2</sup> after reviewing the early beginnings of that art in the time of Zoroaster and mentioning several authors who had written on the subject, adds, 'Est et alia magices factio, a Mose et Janne et Lotape ac Judaeis pendens, sed multis milibus annorum post Zoroastrem.' This appears to be the correct reading; but there is some doubt in the MSS. as to the names Jannes and Lotapes. The latter name is not found elsewhere. Apuleius (first half of second century) in his *Apology* or *De magia liber* also knows the name Jannes. He is defending himself against a charge that he had,

<sup>1</sup> See Schüttgen and Wetstein, in *loc.*, for further details (Schürer, *H.J.P.*, ii. 3. 149). A quotation from the *Testament of Solomon*, a Jewish magical work of uncertain date, may here be mentioned. A spirit who comes up from the depth of the Red Sea says to Solomon, ἐγὼ εἰμι ὃν ἐπεκαλοῦντο Ἰανῆς καὶ Ἰαμβρῆς † οἱ κανχόμενοι † τῷ Μωϋσῃ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. Ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ἀντιπαλαιῶν τῷ Μωϋσῇ ἐν τοῖς † τέρασιν καὶ † τοῖς σημείοις (Migne, *P.G.*, cxxii. 1356. Some obvious errors in Migne's text are here corrected.)

<sup>2</sup> *N.H.* xxx. 1. 11.



by the use of magic, instigated a certain woman Pudentilla to marry him. He says, 'Let my accusers show what advantage I should have gained, even if I were a magician, by so doing.' 'Si quamlibet modicum emolumentum probaveritis, ego ille sim Carinondas vel Damigeron vel is Moses vel Jannes vel Apollonius vel ipse Dardanus vel quicumque alius post Zoroastren et Hostanen inter magos celebratus est.' Then feigning to notice that the mention of so many magicians has created the impression on the court that he must be an experienced magician himself, he adds, 'Am I to teach my accusers that I read these and many other names in the public libraries in the works of the most renowned writers?'<sup>1</sup> All the names given by Apuleius, with the exception of the first two, occur in Pliny's book on magic, and the two writers also have this in common, that Zoroaster and Hostanes (or Osthanes) are regarded as the originators of the art; but as there are some new names, it seems probable that Apuleius is not borrowing directly from Pliny, but that both have had recourse to the same older authority. It would be interesting to discover what this source was; it must have been a heathen source, as a Jewish writer would never have given Zoroaster precedence in point of time over Moses. This carries the origin of the Jewish legend (for the names are almost certainly Jewish) back to quite an early date, as the name of Jannes had before the middle of the first century found its way into heathen books of magic which were accessible to Latin writers in Italy and Africa.

Numenius, a Pythagorean philosopher of Apamea in Syria, who lived in the time of the Antonines, knew

<sup>1</sup> §§ 90, 91, ed. Hildebrand (Leips. 1843).

both names. Eusebius<sup>1</sup> gives the following extract from him. τὰ δ' ἐξῆς Ἰαννῆς καὶ Ἰαμβρῆς Αἰγύπτιοι ἱερογραμματεῖς, ἄνδρες οὐδενὸς ἡττους μαγεῦσαι κριθέντες εἶναι, ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίων ἐξελαυνομένων ἐξ Αἰγύπτου. Μουσαίῳ γοῦν τῷ Ἰουδαίων ἐξηγησαμένῳ, ἀνδρὶ γενομένῳ Θεῷ εὖξασθαι δυνατωτάτῳ, οἱ παραστῆναι ἀξιοθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οὗτοι ἦσαν, τῶν τε συμφορῶν ἃς ὁ Μουσαῖος ἐπήγε τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ, τὰς νεανικωτάτας αὐτῶν ἐπιλύεσθαι ὥφθησαν δυνατοί.

We may lastly allude to a few cases where the names are mentioned in Christian works. Philostorgius<sup>2</sup> (circa 400 A.D.) is quoted by Photius to (iii) Christian the following effect: ὅτι Μωσῆς, φησὶ, τοὺς allusions. περὶ Ι. καὶ Ι. ἐν ἔλκεσι κολασάμενος καὶ τὴν θατέρου τούτων μητέρα τῷ θανάτῳ παρεπέμψατο. In the Gospel of Nicodemus or Acts of Pilate (fifth cent.) Nicodemus, in language borrowed from the Acts of the Apostles, begs Pilate to spare Christ.<sup>3</sup> "Permittite eum neque aliquid malum facite: quia si ex deo sunt signa quae facit, salvabitur, si autem ex hominibus, dissolvetur (cf. A. 5. 38). Quia et Moyses missus in Egyptum fecit signa multa, quae dixit illi Deus, fac ante Pharaonem regem Egypti. Et erant ibi servi Pharaonis Ianes et Iamres, et fecerunt illi signa quae fecit Moyses, non omnia, et habuerunt eos Egyptii sicut deos, Ianem et Iamrem: et quoniam signa quae fecerunt non erant ex deo, perierunt ipsi et qui crediderunt eis" (cf. A. 5. 37).

Palladius (fifth cent.), as quoted by Wetstein, says that Macarius visited the cenotaph of the brothers Jannes and Jambres in the desert.

<sup>1</sup> Praep. Ev. ix. 8.

<sup>2</sup> H. E. ix. 2 (Migne, P. G. vol. 65).

<sup>3</sup> The quotation is from the Latin version in *Studia Biblica*, iv. 94.



The allusions to an apocryphal book of Jannes and Jambres known to the present writer are (1) that in Origen quoted above; (2) in the decretum Gelasii (circa 500 A.D.), which mentions in a list of apocryphal books 'Poenitentia Origenis, poenitentia Cypriani, poenitentia Jannae et Mambrae':<sup>1</sup> the last work must have described their conversion to Judaism; (3) the *Chronicle of Michael the Syrian* (A.D. 1196), which describes how Al Mahdi was a student of magic in the time of Leo IV. (circa 780), and how Leo sent him the book of Jannes and Jambres concerning the magic of the Egyptians, with which Al Mahdi was delighted.<sup>2</sup> This seems to show that a Greek book of Jannes and Jambres was in existence at the end of the eighth century.

Various attempts have been made to explain the names, which have been referred by some writers to a Semitic, by others to an Egyptian origin.<sup>3</sup> There can be little doubt in the opinion of this writer that the names are Semitic. It does not seem likely that they should have been handed down in Egyptian traditions; but it is quite in accordance with Jewish custom to invent names for anonymous persons in Old Testament history. A very probable suggestion as to Jambres is that of Buxtorf,<sup>4</sup> that it is derived from מִרְיָה, 'to rebel' (which the LXX sometimes renders by ἀντιστῆναι). The explanation has this in its favour, that the hiphil form of the verb would account for both forms of the name, Jamres and Mamres. Jannes, however, is taken by Buxtorf to be a mutilated form of Jochanan (i.e. Johannes) with the meaning 'seducer.' The present

<sup>1</sup> Zahn, *Canon*, ii. i. 265.

<sup>2</sup> For this reference the writer is indebted to Mr. E. W. Brooks.

<sup>3</sup> See Smith, *B.D.*, art. Jannes.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

writer would suggest with much hesitation that Jannes may come from another word meaning 'to resist' or 'contradict,' namely, נָפַץ (rendered by ἀντιστῆναι in Is. 3. 9 and elsewhere); the objection that the initial letter of Jannes in Hebrew is י and not נ is not insuperable, as there would be a tendency to bring the two similar sounding names into conformity. The resistance of these magicians to the truth is the point of comparison in St. Paul. If this be the true explanation the names have grown out of Ex. 9. 11, 'The magicians could not stand before (or resist) Moses.' They are then typical instances in Jewish legend of resistance to authority and obstinate rejection of higher light.

Whether Origen or Theodoret is right as to the source whence St. Paul obtained his knowledge of the names cannot with our present information be certainly decided. But as the earliest (heathen) authorities do not appear to know more than their names, and as the book mentioned in the Decretum Gelasii seems to refer to a late form of the legend, the present writer is inclined to think that St. Paul is borrowing from unwritten tradition, and that the apocryphal book was the work of a later date. St. Paul's statement that 'their folly was made apparent to all' is sufficiently explained by the Biblical account of their failure to carry their impostures beyond a certain point, without supposing a reference to the legendary accounts of their death.

In these three instances of Rabbinic legends in St. Paul which we have discussed we note that all are used merely by way of illustration, no emphasis being laid upon their historical worth. The Rock which



accompanied the Israelites and gave them spiritual drink is the type of Christ, of whose body and blood the Christian partakes; the history of Ishmael and Isaac is a type of the open persecution, that of Jannes and Jambres of the more crafty and secret opposition which he must expect to meet.

We have elsewhere mentioned the possibility of St. Paul's acquaintance with Jewish legends with regard to the fall of man, and the undoubted use of such legends in his angelology.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 50 ff. ; 159 ff.

## CHAPTER IX.

### LITERARY CONNEXIONS.

It will not perhaps be out of place to put together at the close of this essay some of the instances where St. Paul has been thought to be directly indebted to the later Jewish literature.

#### I. USE OF THE BOOK OF WISDOM.

The use of uncanonical Jewish literature by the Apostle has as yet been established only in the case of one work—the Wisdom of Solomon. His knowledge of that book may now be said to have received the utmost proof which is possible in the case of a literary connexion where the actual words of the earlier book are not directly quoted. An exhaustive investigation into the question has been made by Grafe,<sup>1</sup> and it will here only be necessary to summarise what has already been said by him with regard to the primary points of connexion, neglecting the minor though not unimportant coincidences between the two writers.

<sup>1</sup> In *Theologische Abhandlungen C. von Weizsäcker* . . . gewidmet (Freiburg i. B., 1892), pp. 253-286. Cf. also S.-H. 51-2, 267.





I. Condemnation of heathen idolatry. R. 1. 18-32: W. 13-14.

In the first chapter of the Romans (1. 18-32) there is painted a very black picture of the heathen world. The order of events described is as follows. Natural religion, with the possibility of attaining to a knowledge of God through the works of creation (18-20), is abandoned by the heathen for idolatry (21-23); the heathen are in consequence abandoned by God to abominable sins and every kind of moral depravity (24-32). In the 13th and 14th chapters of Wisdom the folly, the origin and the results of idolatry are drawn out at length. First comes natural religion, the worship of the heavenly bodies and the elements (13. 1-9): this worship deserves less censure than idolatry, because the worshippers were ignorant and made a real attempt to seek after God, but yet they are not without excuse, because they should have gone further and arrived at a knowledge of God through His works. Then follows a picture of idol-worship which receives a far severer condemnation (13. 10-14. 11). Then in the latter half of the 14th chapter follows a catalogue of the vices to which idolatry leads (14. 12, 22-31). The train of the argument, exhibiting the various stages in the deterioration of the heathen world, is clearly the same in Wisdom and in St. Paul: (1) natural religion, (2) idolatry, (3) catalogue of vices consequent upon idolatry.

Then, again, there appears a trace in St. Paul of the distinction drawn in Wisdom between two classes of heathen, for the first of which a certain allowance is to be made. Wisdom distinguishes between a nobler heathendom which makes the heavenly bodies into gods, and a more degraded class which makes idols and

worships beasts. As to the first class, the writer hesitates as to how much blame is due to them. They can plead ignorance (*μάταιοι . . . οἷς παρῆν θεοῦ ἀγνωσία*, 13. 1); on the other hand the possibility of a right knowledge of God was open to them, so that they are not without excuse (*πάλιν δ' οὐδ' αὐτοὶ συνγνωστοί*, 13. 8, cf. Rom. 1. 20, *εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἀναπολογητοὺς*). In the Romans, it is true, St. Paul pronounces a severe judgement on both classes of heathen: the plea of ignorance is not allowed (*γνόντες τὸν θεόν*, 21). But elsewhere a milder sentence is passed on the heathen (Gal. 4. 8, *οὐκ εἰδότες θεὸν ἐδουλεύσατε τοῖς φύσει μὴ οὖσι θεοῖς*) in a passage where many commentators have thought that he is alluding to the worship of the heavenly bodies (*τὰ στοιχεῖα*: cf. 1 C. 12. 2). The hesitation as to the culpability of the heathen is therefore a point of contact between St. Paul and Wisdom.

The idea of like being followed by like, of each sin finding a corresponding punishment, is characteristic of the Book of Wisdom (*e.g.* 11. 16, 'that they might know that by the same instruments with which a man sinneth, he is also punished'). Possibly a trace of this retribution in kind is to be found in the play on words in R. 1. 28, *καθὼς οὐκ ἐδοκίμασαν τὸν θεὸν ἔχειν ἐν ἐπιγνώσει, παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς εἰς ἀδόκιμον νοῦν*: the rejecters of God are themselves rejected.

The catalogues of the vices produced by idolatry are not identical in the two passages, but it is noticeable that sins of unchastity, and especially those which are contrary to nature, are emphasised in both (cf. Rom. 1. 26, 27, with W. 14. 26, *γενέσεως ἐναλλαγῇ, γάμων ἀταξία, μοιχεία καὶ ἀσέλγεια*).



The full force of the argument for a literary connexion cannot be estimated without comparing the two passages side by side.<sup>1</sup> Among other linguistic similarities the following Pauline words receive illustration from Wisdom: αἰδιος, R. 1. 20 (αἰδιότης, W. 2. 23): θειότης (W. 18. 9): ματαιοῦν, R. 1. 21 (μάταιος, W. 13. 1): ἐσκοτίσθη (ἀπετύφλωσεν, W. 2. 21): ἀσύνετος (W. 11. 15).

II. Doctrine of Predestination. R. 9. 19-23: W. 12 and 15. 7.

A second passage where the influence of Wisdom on St. Paul is unmistakable is the *locus classicus* on predestination or the sovereignty of God (R. 9. 14 ff., esp. verses 19-23). As is pointed out in Sanday and Headlam's commentary, the latter part of the book of Wisdom (x.-xix.) resembles this section of the Epistle to the Romans (chaps. ix.-xi.) in being a sort of philosophy of history, in which is set forth the influence of wisdom on the history of the world, and a contrast is drawn between the fate of the Israelites and of the Egyptians. Similarly St. Paul takes Moses and Pharaoh as the typical instances of the exhibition of the supreme sovereignty of God (R. 9. 14-18). The parallels in detail are as follows:

(a) God's power is irresistible.

The thought occurs repeatedly in Isaiah and elsewhere in O.T., but it is here expressed in language so closely resembling that of Wisdom as to warrant the belief that there is a direct literary connexion.

<sup>1</sup> They are shown in parallel columns in S.-H., p. 51 f.

R. 9. 19. ἐρεῖς μοι οὖν τί ἐτι μέμφεται; τῷ γὰρ βουλήματι αὐτοῦ τίς ἀντίστηκεν;	W. 12. 12. Τίς γὰρ ἐρεῖ τί ἐποίησας; ἢ τίς ἀντιστήσεται τῷ κρῖματί σου; <sup>1</sup> Cf. 12. 21. καὶ κράτει βραχίονός σου τίς ἀντιστήσεται;
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(b) But God's power is tempered by mercy. His forbearance is emphasised by both writers. And a contrast is drawn in both cases between His dealings with His enemies ('the vessels of wrath fitted for destruction'—'due to death') and with His children ('the vessels of mercy').

R. 9. 22. εἰ δὲ θέλων ὁ θεὸς ἐνδείξασθαι τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ γνωρίσαι τὸ δύνατον αὐτοῦ ἤνεγκεν ἐν πολλῇ μακρο- θυμίᾳ σκεύη ὀργῆς κατηρ- τισμένα εἰς ἀπωλείαν, 23. ἵνα γνωρίσῃ τὸν πλοῦτον τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ σκεύη ἐλέους, ἃ προητοίμασεν εἰς δόξαν, κ.τ.λ.	W. 12. 17. ἰσχυρὸν γὰρ ἐνδείκνυσαι . . . 18. σὺ δὲ δεσπόζων ἰσχύος ἐν ἐπιεικεῖ κρίνεις, καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς φειδοῦς διοικεῖς ἡμᾶς. πάρεστιν γὰρ σοι ὅταν θέλῃς τὸ δύνασθαι . . . 20. εἰ γὰρ ἐχθροὺς παιδῶν σου καὶ ὀφειλομένους ἀνάτῳ μετὰ τοσ- αυτῆς ἐτιμώρησας προσοχῆς καὶ διήσειας (R. V. 'heedfulness and indulgence'), δούς χρόνους καὶ τόπον δι' ὧν ἀπαλλαγῶσι τῆς κακίας, μετὰ πόσης ἀκριβείας ἐκρίνας τοὺς υἱούς σου; Cf. W. 12. 10.
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St. Paul's language here has caused difficulty to his interpreters, who have either rendered θέλων by 'because he wished,' and have understood that the delay in the infliction of the punishment was permitted by God merely that He might exhibit it in a more terrible form at the last, or rendering θέλων 'although he might naturally have wished,' have

<sup>1</sup> The following words in W. 12. 12, τίς δὲ ἐγκαλέσει σοι κατὰ ἐθνῶν, κ.τ.λ., resemble R. 8. 33 τίς ἐγκαλέσει κατὰ ἐκλεκτῶν θεοῦ;



understood the delay to be quoted as an instance of God's forbearance. That the latter is the correct explanation is shown by *ἐν πολλῇ μακροθυμίᾳ*, and by a comparison with R. 2. 4. But a not improbable reason has been given by Grafe<sup>1</sup> to account for the obscurity and abruptness of St. Paul's language. "The mysterious anacoluthic expressions of the Apostle, in the unravelling of which commentators hitherto have been by no means agreed, is best explained by the assumption that thoughts and expressions of Wisdom are hovering before him, but that while he partly adopts them, yet he is bound in the end to give them another turn in order to fit them into his train of ideas."

(c) The metaphor of the potter.

Between the two clauses of the 9th chapter of the Romans quoted above, intervene two verses in which the metaphor of the potter is introduced. The first of these (20) which expresses the thought of the impossibility of the vessel questioning the potter as to the reason why he made it, is certainly based on a passage of Isaiah (45. 8-10). But the next verse (21), which expresses the potter's freedom to make some vessels to honour and some to dishonour finds its nearest parallel in a passage of Wisdom, which, it is true, occurs in another context (the folly of idolatry).

R. 9. 21. ἡ οὐκ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν ὁ  
κεραμεὺς τοῦ πηλοῦ ἐκ τοῦ  
αὐτοῦ φυράματος ποιῆσαι ὃ  
μὲν εἰς τιμὴν σκεῦος, ὃ δὲ  
εἰς ἀτιμίαν;

W. 15. 7. καὶ γὰρ κεραμεὺς . . . ἐκ  
τοῦ αὐτοῦ πηλοῦ ἀνεπλάσαστο τὰ  
τε τῶν καθαρῶν ἔργων δοῦλα σκεύη  
τὰ τε ἐνάντια, πάνθ' ὁμοίως· τού-  
των δὲ ἐτέρου τίς ἐκάστου ἐστὶν ἡ  
χρῆσις, κριτὴς ὁ πηλίουργός.

The contrast between the writer of Wisdom and St. Paul is not less interesting than the comparison.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> p. 266, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> See S.-H., *in loc.*

The former while giving expression to some noble thoughts as to the mercy of God is always bounded by his Jewish sympathies. The enemies of God with him are the heathen, the old inhabitants of Canaan; God bore with them, although knowing that His mercy would not profit them, and that 'their nature by birth was evil, and their wickedness inborn, and that their manner of thought would in no wise ever be changed. For they were a seed accursed from the beginning' (12. 10, 11). They were destined for ultimate destruction (verse 8). The object of the forbearance shown to them was not so much for their own improvement as to make them serve as a lesson to the Israelites. St. Paul's view of history shows far greater insight and breadth of sympathy. He has lost the Jewish class-hatred of the heathen, which still appears in the book of Wisdom in spite of the somewhat broader aspect which Hellenism has infused into it. The vessels of mercy with St. Paul are those who were foreordained by God to glory, from among Jews and Gentiles alike (verse 23). The context shows that the delay in punishing the vessels fitted for destruction is intended to lead them to repentance, and not to increase the severity of the punishment when at length it falls. With the general question of the reconciliation of the language here used with regard to predestination with other passages in St. Paul, we are not here concerned.<sup>1</sup> Pfeiderer<sup>2</sup> goes too far in saying that 'St. Paul has retained the general ideas (of Wisdom), but has inverted the references to Jews

<sup>1</sup> See the admirable paper on the subject by Canon Gore in *Studia Biblica*, iii. 37 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Paulinismus*,<sup>2</sup> note on p. 265 f.



and heathen. His doctrine of predestination is therefore, as also in essentials is his doctrine of law, the theology of Pharisaism turned round and employed in an anti-Judaistic sense.' The contrast between the two writers cannot be better expressed than in the words of Sanday and Headlam,<sup>1</sup> 'If St. Paul learnt from the Book of Wisdom some expressions illustrating the Divine Power, and a general aspect of the question, he obtained nothing further. His broad views and deep insight are his own. And it is interesting to contrast a Jew who has learnt many maxims which conflict with his nationalism, but yet retains all his narrow sympathies, with the Christian Apostle, full of broad sympathy and deep insight, who sees in human affairs a purpose of God for the benefit of the whole world being worked out.'

### III. The relation of soul and body and the idea of the departure of the soul to Christ immediately after death.

We have elsewhere<sup>2</sup> considered the connexion of 2 Cor. 5. 1, 4 with Wisdom 9. 15, and seen that the eschatological views of the apocryphal writer have influenced the language of the Apostle in that passage, but have not materially altered his views as to a bodily resurrection.

These and a great number of minor parallels<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> S.-H., p. 269.

<sup>2</sup> p. 131 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Among the most noteworthy of these are W. 7. 22 ff., 9. 6, 9-17 || 1 C. 2. 6-16 (St. Paul's language about the influence of the Spirit similar to the language of W. about σοφία): W. 11. 23 || R. 11. 32 (God's mercy to all): W. 5. 17 ff. || Eph. 6. 11 ff. (the παύση of God and of the Christian: cf. Is. 59. 17): W. 2. 24, etc. || R. 5. 12, etc. (sin brought death into the world): W. 11. 23 || R. 2. 4 (God's mercy has the sinner's μετάνοια for its aim): W. 3. 8 || 1 C. 6. 2 (the righteous will judge the ἐθνὴ or the κόσμος at the end of the world).

between St. Paul and Wisdom put it beyond a doubt that the Apostle had at one time made a close study of the apocryphal book. It was a book which no doubt had a wide circulation at an early time, being the noblest product of the pre-Christian Judaism of Alexandria, and combining in the choicest language the broader views of Hellenism with the narrower national spirit of Judaism: a combination which would render it of special interest to the Apostle who sought to make himself all things to all men that he might by all means gain some. 'A practical man with the sharp outlook for practical needs, Paul took what was good wherever it offered itself.'<sup>1</sup> The influence is rather formal than substantial. But in three not unimportant points, the Apostle's views on idolatry, on predestination and on eschatology, he has been to some extent at least affected by the matter and not only the manner of the Alexandrian work.

### II. ST. PAUL AND PHILO.<sup>2</sup>

If St. Paul's acquaintance with the Book of Wisdom has been established, the same cannot be said of his relation to the other pre-eminent product of the Jewish Alexandrian school, the writings of Philo. Although there are striking parallels between the two writers, no absolutely convincing proofs of any direct

<sup>1</sup> Grafe, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> The following works have been consulted: Siegfried, *Philo von Alexandria*, pp. 304-310; Jowett, *Ep. to Thess., Gal., Rom.* (ed.<sup>2</sup>, London, 1859) vol. I., dissertation on *St. Paul and Philo*, pp. 448-514; Vollmer, *Die alttest. Citate bei Paulus nebst einem Anhang über das Verhältnis des Ap. zu Philo* (Leipzig, 1895), pp. 84-98. The parallels in Jowett's Essay are drawn from the whole of the N.T. and not only from St. Paul: and the most striking of them occur in the Ep. to the Hebrews.





obligation of St. Paul to the Alexandrian philosopher have as yet been adduced. It is not impossible that there should have been such obligation. Philo's life extended from about 20 B.C. to 40 A.D.; and some of his writings may have found their way into Palestine and have come before the notice of St. Paul during Philo's lifetime or within the two decades following his death. But, in the absence of any convincing evidence to the contrary, it must be said that the assumption of such a rapid circulation for the Philonic writings and of St. Paul (during the years in which he was most actively engaged in his missionary work) finding time to make a study of Alexandrian literature which had only recently appeared, is *a priori* improbable. We are informed that some of the Rabbinical schools, that of Gamaliel in particular, encouraged a study of Greek learning;<sup>1</sup> and it is beyond question that St. Paul was acquainted with some of the ideas which are associated with Alexandrian Judaism. But it must be remembered that Philo was by no means the sole representative of that school, but only the most prominent exponent of modes of thought and interpretation of the O.T., which had been maturing at Alexandria for more than a century.<sup>2</sup> It also appears that several of Philo's 'Canons of Allegory' and his interpretations of the O.T. have points of contact with Rabbinic Midrashim, and therefore not improbably go back to a common Palestinian source. It is necessary to distinguish

<sup>1</sup> Sota, ix. 14, fol. 49.

<sup>2</sup> The earliest precursor of Philo in allegorical interpretation of the O.T. of whom we know is Aristobulus (flor. c. 150 B.C.). Philo himself alludes to other allegorical interpretations of O.T. passages than his own (e.g. in *De Somn.* i. 19).

between the purely Hellenistic elements in Philo and the elements which are a mere repetition or extension of Rabbinic ideas, before any literary connexion can be definitely established. The differentiation of the Hellenistic and the Rabbinic sides of Alexandrian Judaism is a subject which appears to need working out. It is also to be borne in mind that the parallels adduced from Philo are spread over all parts of his voluminous writings, and that they appear more striking when brought together, when they are likely to produce an exaggerated impression of resemblance between the two writers.

The present writer cannot claim to have made an exhaustive study of Philo in this connexion, or to have thrown fresh light on the question. It may not, however, be quite without purpose to bring together here some of the most noteworthy parallels, the majority of which have already been adduced,<sup>1</sup> under the heads of (1) O.T. interpretation, (2) subject-matter, (3) linguistic parallels. In the case of the first two of these heads, the explanation of the resemblance may in several cases be that St. Paul is drawing on ideas which were peculiarly Alexandrian, but were not confined to Philo (thus we often find closer parallels to St. Paul in Wisdom), or on ideas which were held in common by the Alexandrian and Rabbinical schools. Under the third heading, the metaphors and phraseology which they have in common are not generally of so striking a character as to warrant the inference of direct indebtedness; we cannot infer more than an independent use of current literary phrases and metaphorical expressions.

<sup>1</sup> Those marked \* are, or are believed to be, new.



## (a) Use of Old Testament.

- 1 C. 10. 4. The rock in the wilderness identified with Christ. *Leg. alleg.* ii. 21. The rock identified with the σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ.  
*Quod det. pot. ins. sol.* 30, where the manna is also identified with the λόγος.

This is one of the most striking parallels to which we have elsewhere alluded.<sup>1</sup> At the same time the thought expressed in Wisdom (11. 4) that the water was given by ἡ σοφία prepares the way for the identification of the rock with the σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ, which may therefore be earlier than Philo. Grafe,<sup>2</sup> commenting on the passage in Wisdom, speaks of the identification as 'a widespread theologumenon of a typological kind.'

- 1 C. 9. 9. μὴ τῶν βοῶν μελεῖ τῷ θεῷ ἢ δι' ἡμᾶς πάντως λέγει; δι' ἡμᾶς γὰρ ἐγράφη. *Philo, De somn.* i. 16 (on Exod. 22. 27). God cannot trouble Himself about a thing so commonplace as a cloak: the passage must therefore be taken not literally but allegorically. ὁ τῶν ὄλων κτίστης καὶ ἡγεμὼν ἐλεήμονα ἑαυτὸν ἐφ' οὕτως εὐτελοῦς πράγματος, ἱματίου μὴ ἀποδοθέντος χρεώστη πρὸς δανειστοῦ, καλεῖ;  
*De vicl. off.* 1. οὐ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀλόγων ὁ νόμος ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν νοῦν καὶ λόγον ἐχόντων.

- Gal. 3. 16. Emphasis laid on the use of the sing. σπέρματι (in Gen. 17. 7, 22. 18, etc.). *De mut. nom.* 26. Emphasis laid on the sing. τέκνον (in Gen. 17. 16). πρῶτον μὲν τοῖνυν ἀξιον θαυμάσαι τὸ μὴ πολλὰ τέκνα φάναι δώσειν, ἐν δὲ χαριεῖσθαι μόνον. διὰ τί δέ; ὅτι τὸ καλὸν οὐκ ἐν πληθεί μᾶλλον ἢ δυνάμει πέφυκεν ἐξετάζεσθαι.

<sup>1</sup> pp. 210 f.<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*

- 2 C. 8. 13-15. The principle of equality deduced from Exod. 16. 18 (ὁ τὸ πολὺ οὐκ ἐπλεόνασεν, κ.τ.λ.).

*Quis rer. div. her.* 39. ἐτι τοῖνυν τὴν οὐράνιον τροφήν—σοφία δὲ ἐστίν—τῆς ψυχῆς, ἣν καλεῖ μάννα, διανέμει πᾶσι τοῖς χρηστέοις θεῖος λόγος ἐξ Ἰσοῦ, πεφροντικῶς διαφερόντως ἰσότητος. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ Μωυσῆς λέγων (Ex. 16. 18) . . . ὁ γὰρ ἐπέβαλεν ἐκάστῳ, τοῦτ' ἀπεκληρώθη προνοητικῶς, ὥς μὴθ' ὑστερήσαι μήτ' αὐ περιττεῦσαι. Cf. *Leg. alleg.* iii. 56 f.

## (b) Subject-matter.

*Natural theology and idolatry.*

- R. 1. 20, 23, 25.

*Leg. alleg.* iii. 32. οἱ δὲ οὕτως ἐπιλογισμένοι διὰ σκιᾶς τὸν θεὸν καταλαμβάνουσι, διὰ τῶν ἔργων τὸν τεχνίτην κατανοοῦντες.

*De praem. et poen.* 7. οὗτοι γε θεσπέσιοι . . . κάτωθεν ἀνω προήλθον οἱ διὰ τίνος οὐρανοῦ κλίμακος ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων εἰκότι λογισμῷ στοχασάμενοι τὸν δημιουργόν.

- R. 1. 25. ἐλάτρευσαν τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα.

*De somn.* i. 14. οἱ γένεσιν πρὸ τοῦ ἀγεννήτου θεραπεύει ἀναγκαζόμενοι.

*De ebriet.* 28.

We have seen that St. Paul is here borrowing the language of Wisdom; it is not improbable that Philo himself had passages of that book in mind (cf. W. 13. 9, στοχάσασθαι τὸν αἰῶνα, with the second passage above).

*Unnatural sins of the heathen.*

- R. 1. 27.

*De Abrah.* 26. *De spec. legg.* M. ii. 306.



Paul again is using Wisdom, not Philo.

*Sin not reckoned before law. Sin not reckoned before the entrance of the law into the soul.*

R. 5. 13. ἀμαρτία οὐκ ἔλλογᾶται μὴ ὄντος νόμου. *Quod deus immut.* 28. ἔως μὲν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς λόγος εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν ἡμῶν . . . ἀφίκεται, πάντα αὐτῆς τὰ ἔργα ἀνυπαίτια . . . συγγνώμη δὲ τοῖς δι' ἀμαθίαν ἀπειρήτα τῶν πρακτέων ἀμαρτάνουσιν, κ.τ.λ.

*God's grace and inadequacy of man's works.*

R. 10. 3, etc.

*De mut. nom.* 25. ἀριστον κέκρισθαι παρὰ ὁρθῶ λόγῳ τὸ μηδὲν ἀπαφαίνειν τὴν ψυχὴν ἰδίῳ αὐτῆς καλῶν, ἀλλὰ προσγινόμενον ἔσωθεν κατὰ τὴν μεγαλύνειαν τοῦ χάριτας ὁμωρῶντος θεοῦ.

\* *Leg. alleg.* iii. 24. θεὸς . . . φύσεις ἀστείας χωρὶς περιφανοῦς αἰτίας προαγόχεν, ἔργον οὐδὲν πρὸ τῶν ἐπαινῶν αὐτῶν ὁμολογήσας, κ.τ.λ. (a striking passage in which all blessings are referred to the grace of God).

\* *Leg. alleg.* i. 13. φιλόδωρος ὢν ὁ θεὸς χαρίζεται τὰ ἀγαθὰ πᾶσι καὶ τοῖς μὴ τελείαις. Just below the words βούλεται τὰ θέσει δίκαια εἰσαγαγεῖν seem to contain the idea of imputed righteousness.

2 Cor. 3. 5 (our sufficiency is of God), etc.

*De confus. ling.* 25. καὶ ἔστιν οὐ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς μερῶν χάρις τὰ γινόμενα, ἀλλὰ τοῦ δι' ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς γεγόναμεν δωρεὰ πᾶσαι.

*Election before birth.*

R. 9. 6-13.

\* *Leg. alleg.* iii. 28. ἐνίοις δὲ ὁ θεὸς πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως καλῶς διαπλάττει καὶ διατίθεται καὶ κληρὸν ἔχειν ἀριστον προήρηται.

In 29 he passes, as St. Paul does, from the instance of Isaac and Ishmael to Jacob and Esau. πάλιν δὲ τὸν Ἰακώβ καὶ τὸν Ἡσαῦ τὸν μὲν ἀρχοντα . . . τὸν δὲ Ἡσαῦ ὑπήκοον καὶ δοῦλον ἔτι κατὰ γαστρός ὄντας φησὶν εἶναι. ὁ γὰρ ἱεροπλάστης θεὸς ἐπίσταται τὰ ἐαυτοῦ καλῶς δημιουργήματα καὶ πρὶν αὐτὰ εἰς ἄκρον διαφορεῖσθαι, κ.τ.λ. (Gen. 25. 23 is quoted as in St. Paul).

*Faith (of Abraham).*

R. 4. 1 ff., 16 ff. κατέναντι οὐ ἐπίστευσεν θεοῦ ταῦ ζῶοντιοῦντος τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ καλοῦντος τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς ὄντα . . .

*De migr. Abr.* 9.<sup>1</sup> εἰς μαρτυρίαν πίστεως ἣν ἐπίστευσεν ἡ ψυχὴ θεῷ, οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων ἐπιδεικνυμένη τὸ εὐχάριστον ἀλλ' ἐκ προσδοκίας τῶν μελλόντων· ἀρτηθεῖσα γὰρ καὶ ἐκκρεμασθεῖσα ἐλπιδος χρηστῆς καὶ ἀνευδοίας νομίσασα ἤδη παρεῖναι τὰ μὴ παρόντα . . .

*The body is dead and is a dead weight to the soul.*

2 C. 5. 4.  
R. 8. 10, 11.

\* *Leg. alleg.* iii. 22. τὸν δερμάτινον ἡμῶν ὄγκον τὸ σῶμα . . . μὴ γὰρ ἄλλο τι νοσήθης ἑκαστον ἡμῶν ποιεῖν ἢ νεκροφανεῖν, τὸ νεκρὸν ἐξ ἐαυτοῦ σῶμα ἐγειρούσης καὶ ἀμαχθὶ φερομένης τῆς ψυχῆς . . . ἐξ ἀρχῆς νεκρὸν τὸ σῶμα ἀπειργάσατο.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for other passages, pp. 92 ff.



A common Alexandrian idea, borrowed from Greek philosophy. In 2 Cor. 5 St. Paul is, as we have seen, using Wisdom.

*The First and Second Adam.*<sup>1</sup> *The heavenly and the earthly man.*  
1 Cor. 15. 45-49. *Leg. alleg. i. 12, etc.*

*Striving to attain to the likeness of the Son.*

- R. 8. 29. *ἔτι οὗς προέγνω καὶ προώρισεν συμμόρφους τῆς εἰκόνος τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὸ εἶναι πρωτότοκον ἐν πολλοῖς ἀδελφοῖς.* *De confus. ling. 28.* (Polytheists resemble sons of harlots.) οἱ δὲ ἐπιστήμη κεχρημένοι τοῦ ἐνὸς υἱοῦ θεοῦ προσαγορεύονται δεδντως . . . κὰν μηδέπω μέντοι τυγχάνη τις ἀξιοχρεως ὡν υἱὸς θεοῦ προσαγορεύεσθαι, σπουδαζέτω κοσμεῖσθαι κατὰ τὸν πρωτόγονον αὐτοῦ λόγον, τὸν ἀγγέλιον πρεσβύτατον, . . . καὶ γὰρ εἰ μήπω ἱκανοὶ θεοῦ παῖδες νομίζεσθαι γεγόναμεν, ἀλλὰ τοι τῆς αἰδοῦς εἰκόνος αὐτοῦ, λόγου τοῦ ἱερωτάτου· θεοῦ γὰρ εἰκὼν λόγος ὁ πρεσβύτατος.

Philo shrinks from giving men the title of 'sons of God' (cf. Heb. 2. 11, οὐκ ἐπαισχύνεται ἀδελφούς αὐτοὺς καλεῖν), to which according to St. Paul they may lay claim.

*Deliverance of Israel from the heathen.*

- R. 11. The ultimate salvation of Israel. *De execrat. 7-9* (on Deut. 28). A unique passage in Philo on the return of the scattered tribes led by a divine guide.

### (c) Linguistic Parallels.

- R. 1. 13, etc. οὐ θέλω ὑμᾶς *De ebriet. 22, etc.* χρῆ μέντοι μηδὲ τοῦτ' ἀγνοεῖν.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 44 ff. Rabbinic theology inferred a double formation of man from the double jod in *יָחַד* in Gen. 2. 7 (Siegfried, *Philo*, 284, 308).

- R. 2. 4. ἡ τοῦ πλοῦτου τῆς χρηστότητος αὐτοῦ . . . καταφρονεῖς; *Leg. alleg. i. 13.* τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ τε πλοῦτου καὶ τῆς ἀγαθότητος αὐτοῦ.

- R. 11. 33. ὦ βάθος, κ.τ.λ. \* *Leg. alleg. iii. 12.* ἀδυνατοῦμεν δὲ πλοῦτον ἀναμετρήσαι θεοῦ. ἀλλ' ὅμως χάρις τῷ φιλοδώρῳ ὅτι, κ.τ.λ.

*Our heavenly citizenship.*

- Phil. 3. 20. ἡμῶν γὰρ τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς ὑπάρχει (cf. Heb. 11. 13 ff.). *De confus. ling. 17.* πατρίδα μὲν τὸν οὐράνιον χῶρον ἐν ᾧ πολιτεύονται, ξένην δὲ τὸν περίγειον ἐν ᾧ παρώκησαν νομίζουσαι.

- 2 C. 10. 4 f. τὰ γὰρ ὅπλα τῆς στρατείας ἡμῶν . . . δυνατὰ τῷ θεῷ πρὸς καθαρίσιν ὀχυρωμάτων. *De confus. ling. 26.* (τὸ κατεσκευασμένον ὀχ. διὰ τῆς τῶν λόγων πιθανότητος) . . . ἀλλὰ πρὸς γε τὴν τοῦ ὀχυρώματος τούτου καθαίρεσιν ὁ πειρατὴς τῆς ἀδικίας καὶ φονῶν αἰεὶ κατ' αὐτῆς εὐτρέπεται.

- 1 C. 7. 21. δοῦλος ἐκλήθης; *Quod omn. prob. liber 7* (quoting an iambic line). δοῦλος πέφυκας; οὐ μέτεστί σοι λόγον.

- 1 C. 7. 31. οἱ χρώμενοι τὸν κόσμον ὡς μὴ καταχρώμενοι. *De Josepho, 24.* χρῶ μὴ παραχρώμενος . . . ὀλίγα κέκτησαι; μὴ φθόνη τοῖς ἔχουσι, κ.τ.λ.

- 1 C. 5. 10. ἐπεὶ ὠφελετε ἄρα ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου ἐξελεῖν. \* *Leg. alleg. iii. 2.* οὐ γὰρ ἐξω γέ τις τοῦ κόσμου φεύγειν δυνήσεται.

*Metaphorical expressions.*

- 1 C. 3. 1 f. . . ὡς νηπίοις ἐν Χριστῷ. γάλα ὑμᾶς ἐπότισα, οὐ βρῶμα, οὕτω γὰρ ἐδύνασθε. *De agric. 2.* ἐπεὶ δὲ νηπίοις μὲν ἐστὶ γάλα τροφή, τελείοις δὲ τὰ ἐκ πυρῶν πέμματα, καὶ ψυχῆς γαλακτώδεις μὲν ἂν εἶεν τροφαὶ κατὰ τὴν παιδικὴν ἡλικίαν τὰ τῆς ἐγκυκλίου μουσικῆς προπαιδεύματα.

- 1 C. 13. 12. βλέπομεν δι' ἐσόπτρον. *De decal. 21.* ὡς γὰρ διὰ κατόπτρον φαντασιόυται ὁ νοῦς θεὸν δρῶντα καὶ κοσμοποιῶντα καὶ τῶν ὅλων ἐπιτροπεύοντα.





1 C. 4. 5. ὅς καὶ φωτίζει τὰ κρυπτά τοῦ σκότους καὶ φανερώσει τὰς βουλὰς τῶν καρδιῶν.

*De Somn.* i. 15 (on Gen. 19. 23). The creator likened to the sun. ἥλιον τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὄλων ἐκάλεσεν, ᾧ πάντα προῦπα καὶ ὅλα ἐν μυχοῖς τῆς διανοίας ἀοράτως ἐπιτελεῖται.

1 C. 9. 24-27.  
2 Tim. 4. 7, 8, etc.

\* *Leg. alleg.* iii. 15. ὁ σπουδαῖος . . . ἐαυτὸν ἀποδιδράσκων . . . κάλον δρόμον καὶ πάντων ἀριστον ἀγώνισμα τοῦτο νικῶν.

\* *Leg. alleg.* ii. 26 fin. κάλλιστον ἀγῶνα τοῦτον διδύλησαν καὶ σπουδάσαν στεφανωθῆναι . . . καλὸν καὶ εὐκλεᾶ στέφανον ὃν οὐδεμία πανήγυρις ἀνθρώπων ἐχορήγησεν.

1 C. 3. 10. ὡς σοφὸς ἀρχιτέκτων θεμέλιον ἔθηκε, ἄλλος δὲ ἐποικοδομεῖ.

\* *De Somn.* ii. 2. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ θεμέλιων τρόπον προκαταβεβλήσθω, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τοῖς σοφῆς ἀρχιτεκτόνος, ἀλληγορίας, ἐπόμενοι παραγγέλμασιν ἐποικοδομῶμεν.

### III. SOME ALLEGED QUOTATIONS OF ST. PAUL FROM APOCRYPHAL WRITINGS.

As early as the time of Origen, it was asserted that St. Paul, in quotations which could not be traced in the O.T. in the identical form in which he cites them, had made use of apocryphal writings.

The most well-known of these passages is that in 1 Cor. 2. 9, καθὼς γέγραπται, "Α ὀφθαλμοὶ οὐκ εἶδον καὶ οὐς οὐκ ἤκουσεν | καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, | ὅσα ἡτοίμασεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν. The phrase καθὼς γέγραπται is elsewhere used by St. Paul only of quotations from canonical writings; and it is generally assumed that

he has here very freely paraphrased Is. 64. 4, which runs:

R.V. For from of old men have not heard, nor perceived by the ear, neither hath the eye seen a God beside thee, which worketh for him that waiteth for him.

LXX ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος οὐκ ἠκούσαμεν οὐδὲ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἡμῶν εἶδον θεὸν πλὴν σοῦ καὶ τὰ ἔργα σου ἀποιήσεις τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν ἔλεον,

and that he has incorporated in this paraphrase a clause from Is. 65. 16 (καὶ οὐκ ἀναβήσεται αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν).

Origen, however, maintained that St. Paul here and elsewhere uses apocryphal literature, and that the source of this quotation is *The Secrets of Elias*. "In nullo enim regulari libro hoc positum invenitur, nisi in Secretis Eliae prophetae."<sup>1</sup>

This view was violently attacked by Jerome, who maintained that St. Paul is paraphrasing Isaiah, and ridiculed the 'apocryphorum deliramenta' or the 'Iberae naeniae,' as he terms these apocryphal writings.<sup>2</sup> The second name is explained by the fact that the passage afterwards became a popular one with the Gnostics, whose doctrines were spread through Spain by pupils of Basilides.<sup>3</sup> But while Jerome is so strong an advocate for St. Paul's ignorance of apocryphal follies, he also admits that the passage occurs not only in the *Apocalypse of Elias*, but also in the *Ascension of Isaiah*. "Ascensio enim Isaiae et apocalypsis Eliae hoc habent testimonium."<sup>4</sup>

Now, it happens that two works bearing these names

<sup>1</sup> Orig. in *Matt.* 27. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Jerome, *Comm.* in *Is.* 64. 4. Epist. 57 ad Pammachium. *Praef.* in *Pentateuchum ad Desiderium*.

<sup>3</sup> Lightfoot, *Notes on Epistles*, in loc. <sup>4</sup> *Comm.* in *Is.* 64. 4.



have come to light in recent years, one in a complete form, the other a fragment. The *Ascension of Isaiah* is, as we said, a conflation of two distinct works, a purely Jewish account of the martyrdom of Isaiah and a Christian apocalypse, the *Ascension of Isaiah*. Dillmann considers that the whole work was produced by a Christian editor early in the second century.<sup>1</sup> It has survived in two forms, an Ethiopic and a Latin version. The passage 'Eye hath not seen,' etc., is absent from the Ethiopic, but occurs in the (probably later) Latin version,<sup>2</sup> which must have been that with which Jerome was acquainted. We here have an instance of how a favourite text was interpolated by Christians into an existing work; and there can be no doubt whatever that this Christian edition of a Jewish work was not the source of St. Paul's quotation.

Fragments of a Coptic *Apocalypse of Elias* have quite recently been brought to light,<sup>3</sup> but the passage does not occur in what remains of the work. And even if it did occur in the missing portion, we could not be sure that it was not a Christian interpolation made before Origen's time, as the book, like the *Ascension of Isaiah*, is an instance of Christian editing of an original Jewish writing. While, therefore, we must credit Origen's statement that the words occurred in an *Apocalypse of Elias*, we cannot confidently draw the inference that this was the

<sup>1</sup> Dillmann, *Ascensio Isaiae Aethiopice et Latine* (Leipzig, 1877).

<sup>2</sup> 11. 34, 'Vidisti enim quod nemo alius vidit carnis filius, quod nec oculus vidit nec auris audivit nec in cor hominis ascendit, quanta praeeparavit Deus omnibus diligentibus se.' The Ethiopic, as rendered by Dillmann, merely has 'nam spectavisti quod nemo filius carnis spectavit.'

<sup>3</sup> Steindorff, *Die Apocalypse des Elias, in Text. u. Untersuch.* (Leipzig, 1899).

source from which St. Paul derived them. The Fathers were notoriously uncritical in such matters.

What, then, was the source of the quotation? Are we to follow Jerome in supposing it to be a free adaptation of Isaiah made by St. Paul himself? We must here note the use made of the words in some sub-Apostolic writings. They occur in the *Epistle of Clement of Rome* (chap. 34), after an allusion to 'the great and glorious promises' of God, introduced by λέγει γὰρ, and in a form which is nearer to the LXX of Isaiah, as the quotation ends with τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν αὐτόν in place of the τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν of St. Paul. The same verb (ὑπομένειν) occurs in the account of the martyrdom of Polycarp (2. 3), τοῖς τῆς καρδίας ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀνέβλεπον τὰ τηρούμενα τοῖς ὑπομείναςιν ἀγαθά, ἃ οὔτε οὖς, κ.τ.λ. In the second so-called *Epistle of Clement* (11. 7) the first two clauses of the quotation are given in connexion with 'the promises'; in 14. 5, the last clause is quoted in the form ἡ τοίμασεν ὁ Κύριος τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς αὐτοῦ. These passages might be reminiscences of St. Paul, but the occurrence of ὑπομένειν seems to show that the words of Isaiah were current in a form 'lying somewhere between the present LXX rendering and the quotation of St. Paul, though nearer to the latter.'<sup>1</sup>

Some light may perhaps be thrown on the question by the occurrence of part of the quotation in a purely Jewish work dating from not long after 70 A.D., the *Book of Antiquities* attributed to Philo. Such is the date assigned to it by Dr. Cohn, to whom we owe the rediscovery of the work, and he adds that 'Christian elements are entirely absent. There is not even

<sup>1</sup> Lightfoot, *Notes on Epistles*, in loc.



the faintest allusion to Christianity or any Christian addition to the narrative.<sup>1</sup> The Pauline quotation occurs on p. 316 of the collection of writings entitled *Mikropresbutikon* (Basle, 1550), in the middle of a description of the 12 stones which were found by Cenez, inscribed with the names of the 12 tribes of Israel; these stones, when Israel begins to be oppressed by her enemies, will be preserved by God in the place where they were found: 'et erunt ibi quousque memor sim seculi et visitabo habitantes terram, et tunc accipiam et istos et alios plures valde meliores, ex eo quod oculus non vidit nec auris audivit et in cor hominis non ascendit, quousque tale aliquid fieri in seculum, et non indigent iusti opera luminis solis neque splendore lunae, quoniam preciosissimorum lapidum lumen erit lumen eorum.'<sup>2</sup> If there is no interpolation here (and to judge by the rest of the book there is not), this proves that the words were current in Jewish circles in the first century in their Pauline form, and the combination of Is. 64. 4 with the phrase from Is. 65. 16 was familiar to Jewish ears. This can only be accounted for by supposing that there was some Jewish writing or collection of O.T. passages, in which the final blessedness of the elect was depicted in language which was a free paraphrase of passages in Isaiah. This may have been an original Jewish *Apocalypse of Elias*, but as it is difficult to suppose that St. Paul would introduce a quotation from such a work with a *καθὼς γέγραπται*, there is

<sup>1</sup> *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1898, pp. 327, 313.

<sup>2</sup> The latter part of the quotation bears a striking resemblance to *Apoc. John*, 21. 23, where the mention of the 12 stones has also just preceded. But it may be modelled on Is. 60. 1 ff. The description of the stones in Ps.-Philo does not agree with that in the *Apocalypse*, but with Exodus 28. 17 ff.

more probability in the theory<sup>1</sup> that we have here a trace of a Jewish anthology of O.T. passages, in which case the formula of quotation would not be inappropriate.

It is astonishing to find that a saying which we naturally regard as a characteristic watchword of the Apostle, expressing his complete alienation from Judaism, 'For neither circum-<sup>(b) Gal. 6. 15</sup>  
cision is anything nor uncircumcision but (cf. G. 5. 6,  
1 C. 7. 19).  
a new creature,' has been referred to an apocryphal source. Yet Euthalius (fourth cent.) asserts that it comes from an apocryphal work concerning Moses;<sup>2</sup> this statement is repeated from Euthalius in an anonymous list of Old Testament quotations in the New contained in an eleventh century ms. at Rome,<sup>3</sup> and again by Georgius Syncellus.<sup>4</sup> The last-named writer immediately afterwards adds a story, which he says occurs *ἐν τῇ Μωϋσέως λεγομένη ἀποκαλύψει* (apparently the work already referred to), how that after the flood when the demons tempted the sons of Noah nine-tenths of their number were cast into the abyss by Michael the Archangel, but one-tenth was at Satan's request allowed to remain on earth to tempt the sons of men. Now this story is told in nearly the same form in the tenth chapter of the *Book of Jubilees*. Syncellus therefore appears to have identified the

<sup>1</sup> Adopted by Vollmer, *Die Alltest. Citate bei Paulus*, pp. 44-48. Cf. p. 184 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Gallandi, *Bibl. Vet. Patr.* x. 260, *Μωϋσέως ἀποκρύφου*.

<sup>3</sup> Montfaucon, *Bibl. Bibl.* i. 195.

<sup>4</sup> G. Syncellus, *Chronograph.* p. 27 (ed. Dindorf, i. 48). There can be no doubt that the two later passages are indebted to Euthalius. All three assert that (1) 1 Cor. 2. 9 comes from an *Apocalypse of Elias*, (2) Gal. 6. 15 from an *Apocalypse of Moses*, and (3) Eph. 5. 14 from an *Apocalypse of Jeremiah*.



*Apocalypse of Moses* to which Euthalius refers with the *Book of Jubilees*. The *Book of Jubilees* sometimes went by the name of the *Apocalypse of Moses* (it takes the form of a revelation made to Moses), and it has been suggested that the book known to us as the *Assumption of Moses* may at one time have formed part of the *Book of Jubilees*.<sup>1</sup> But the Pauline words are not found either in *Jubilees* or in the *Assumption*. On the contrary, there is no passage in which the importance of circumcision is more vehemently asserted than in the fifteenth chapter of *Jubilees*. "This law is for all the generations for ever, and there is no circumcision of the time [*i.e.* it is not a temporal ordinance] and no passing over one day out of the eight days; for it is an eternal ordinance, ordained and written on the heavenly tables. And everyone that is born, the flesh of whose foreskin is not circumcised on the eighth day belongs not to the children of the covenant . . . but he is destined to be destroyed and slain from the earth."<sup>2</sup> The writer goes on to describe how certain sons of Belial will not keep this ordinance, but will neglect circumcision, and how there will be no pardon or forgiveness for them for ever.<sup>3</sup> This book was written at about the time when Pauline ideas were beginning to make themselves felt and Christianity was making rapid advances. This will explain the emphasis laid upon the eternal importance of circumcision, and the allusion to the sons of Belial; it is

<sup>1</sup> See the note by Mr. F. C. Burkitt in the *Camb. Univ. Reporter* for 14 June, 1898.

<sup>2</sup> From Charles' translation in *J. Q. R.*, 1894, vol. vi. 711.

<sup>3</sup> Similarly in the *Assumption of Moses*, chap. 8, 'those who confess to their circumcision' in time of persecution are spoken of with commendation.

probably meant as a protest against the new doctrines which were just becoming known. If we are right in inferring from Syncellus that the *Book of Jubilees* is intended by Euthalius, the only way in which the ascription of St. Paul's words on the indifference of circumcision to such a thorough-going Jewish work can be accounted for, is by supposing that a Christian reader added them in the margin as a protest against the passage quoted above, and that they were then incorporated into some copies of the text. In any case, whatever the work referred to by Euthalius may have been, it must have been, as Lightfoot says, either written or interpolated after the time of St. Paul.

The origin of the quotation 'Awake thou that sleepest and arise from the dead and Christ shall give thee light' has been variously explained. (*c*) Eph. 5. 14. Euthalius, followed by Syncellus and the anonymous list, derived it, as we have seen, from an apocalypse of Jeremiah. Epiphanius (*Haer.* xlii.) refers again to an Elias work (*τοῦτο ἐμφέρεται τῷ Ἠλίᾳ*). A marginal note in codex G says that it occurs 'in secreto Enoch.' Even Jerome (*Comm. in Ephes., ad loc.*) in this case thinks the quotation may come from an apocryphal work. The discrepancy in these views prevents us from attaching credit to any one of them. The resemblance to Is. 60. 1, 'Arise, shine,' etc., is not close enough to warrant the belief that it is the Apostle's paraphrase of that passage. The rhythmical turn of the language and the occurrence of ὁ Χριστός make it most probable that we have here a fragment of an early Christian hymn, one of those 'hymns and spiritual songs' to which the Apostle immediately afterwards refers. This view has the





support of Theodoret and Severianus.<sup>1</sup> The impersonal formula with which the quotation is introduced—διὸ λέγει—does not, like καθὼς γέγραπται, imply that it is derived from the O.T.

We have considered the allusion to the Egyptian magicians elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> and concluded that Theodoret (d) 2 Tim. 3. 8. was probably right in supposing that the names were taken by St. Paul from unwritten Jewish tradition, and that they were not derived by him, as Origen says, from an apocryphal book of Jannes and Mambres.

<sup>1</sup> See T. K. Abbott (*Internat. Crit. Comm.*), in loc.

<sup>2</sup> pp. 215 ff.

## NOTES.

### NOTE A (TO CHAPTER II).

For a discussion of the extent to which St. Paul is indebted to Jewish thought in his views on sin and Adam, which gave rise to his central doctrine of Christ as the Second Adam, see a thoughtful article by P. Feine, 'Der Ursprung der Sünde nach Paulus,' in the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, Vol. X. No. 10, 1899, pp. 771-795. He says, 'The idea of the unity of the human race and the solidarity of the whole subsequent line with Adam as its first member and head is taken by the Apostle from contemporary Judaism.' But 'the representation of the solidarity of the human race wins for the theology of Paul a still greater importance than for contemporary Judaism. In the latter the thought of human freedom and capacity for good was so powerful, that man in the end appeared to be set upon his own feet and only in the doom of death (*todesverhängniss*) to be unconditionally dependent upon Adam.' St. Paul, on the other hand, in virtue of the peculiar circumstances of his conversion, came to regard the course of the world's history as powerfully influenced by the two typical or representative men, Adam and Christ (pp. 780, 781).

### NOTE B. ST. PAUL'S TEACHING ON ELECTION AND PREDESTINATION.

The same broadening of contemporary Jewish ideas, which we have seen elsewhere, appears in the Pauline doctrine of Election. The Old Testament doctrine of the election of the people of Israel as the special objects for the exhibition of God's



gracious favour had in St. Paul's time degenerated into a belief that no Israelite could go into Gehenna, that the mere fact of descent from Abraham ensured the ultimate salvation of the individual, and that God was bound over as it were by a covenant over which He had no control to the people of Israel to the exclusion of 'the people of the earth.' St. Paul, who in his Pharisaic days had held the belief in the election of his nation as one of his most cherished convictions, in the ninth chapter of the Romans (verses 6-13) replaces this narrower conception by a far wider one. He finds, looking back over the world's history, that there had from the first been a process of selection in God's dealings with men. This process was seen at work in the chosen race itself; Isaac and Jacob were chosen, Ishmael and Esau were rejected. The election did not consist in the appointment of a special race to special privileges, but in the selection of certain individuals to special responsibilities. The reason for the selection in each case was beyond man's understanding, being hidden in the inscrutable counsels of God. This broader conception of 'Election' is summed up by St. Paul in a single illuminating phrase, *ἡ κατ' ἐκλογὴν πρόθεσις τοῦ θεοῦ*, 'the purpose of God which has worked on the principle of selection' (R. 9. 11).<sup>1</sup>

In connexion with the Pauline doctrine of Election, we may mention here some apparent points of contact between the opening verses of the Epistle to the Ephesians (together with the kindred passages in Colossians) and the section of the *Book of Enoch* known as the Similitudes (chaps. 37-71). (1) We note first the intimate connexion in both books between the calling of the Elect One and of the elect ones in the eternal purpose of God before the world was. St. Paul says, 'He chose us in Him (that is, in Christ) before the foundation of the world', 'His grace which He freely bestowed on us in the Beloved' (Eph. 1. 4, 6). In Enoch we read that the Son of Man was 'chosen and hidden before Him (the Lord of Spirits) before the creation of the world and for evermore; and the wisdom of the Lord of Spirits hath revealed Him to the holy and righteous' (48. 6, 7): 'the Son of Man was hidden before Him and the Most High preserved

<sup>1</sup>See S.-H. 248 ff., 'The Divine Election.'

Him in the presence of His might and revealed Him to the elect' (62. 7): 'the Elect One and the elect ones' are mentioned in juxtaposition in 40. 5. The phrase *πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου* occurs in St. Paul only in the above passage of Ephesians. (2) Then again we read in St. Paul that this election took place 'according to the good pleasure' of God. The exact phrase, here three times repeated (Eph. 1. 5, *προορίσας . . . κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ, ἐν ἔπαινον δόξης, κ.τ.λ.*: 1. 9, *γνωρίσας . . . κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν αὐτοῦ*: 1. 11, *προορισθέντες . . . κατὰ τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ*), does not occur again in St. Paul. But it is used in just the same way in the Similitudes of Enoch. Enoch, in 37. 4, speaks of the wisdom which was given to him 'according to the good pleasure of the Lord of Spirits': in 39. 9, he blesses the Lord of Spirits 'because He hath destined for me blessing and glory according to the good pleasure of the Lord of Spirits': in 49. 4, we read that the Messiah 'is the Elect One before the Lord of Spirits according to His good pleasure.' (3) 'The lot' or 'portion' to which the elect are predestined is another idea common to the two writers. In St. Paul we read that 'we have obtained an inheritance in Christ' (Eph. 1. 11; the A.V. rendering of *ἐκληρώθημεν*, a verb occurring here only in St. Paul, is preferable to 'we were made a heritage' of the R.V.), and just below (verse 14) we read of 'the inheritance' (*ἡ κληρονομία*) of which the Spirit is an earnest. With this should be connected Col. 1. 12, 'the portion of the inheritance (*ἡ μέρος τοῦ κλήρου*) of the saints in light' (*κλήρος* here only in St. Paul). In Enoch mention is made of 'the lot of eternal life' which was given to the Seer according to the good pleasure of the Lord of Spirits (37. 4), of the 'portion' which has been predestined for him (39. 8), of the 'lot' of the Son of Man (46. 3), of 'the glorious lot' of the elect 'in the light of the sun and in the light of eternal life' (58). (4) Lastly, the Son of Man, or the Elect One, is portrayed in Enoch as the revealer of all secrets: 'This is the Son of Man who . . . reveals all the treasures of that which is hidden' (46. 3). This offers a very close parallel to Col. 2. 3, where it is said of Christ that 'in Him are all the secrets of wisdom and knowledge hidden' (cf. Eph. 1. 9). The juxtaposition of the same ideas and phrases appears to indicate the



dependence of the Apostle upon some older Jewish conceptions, if not an actual acquaintance with the Similitudes of the *Book of Enoch*.

With regard to the kindred subject of Predestination, on which St. Paul speaks in such strong terms in the verses of the ninth chapter of the Romans which immediately follows those dealing with Election (14 ff.), it will be sufficient to refer for a full discussion to the commentaries of Dr. Sanday and Mr. Headlam (especially pp. 347 ff.) and of Canon Gore. Several points have to be taken into account in considering the language used with regard to 'the vessels of wrath fitted for destruction' and 'the vessels of mercy'—the habit of the Apostle of isolating for the time the single point under discussion without regard to other aspects of the truth, the fact that he is emphasising the absolute freedom of God as against the current doctrine which represented Him as bound to a certain course of action with regard to His chosen people, and the probability that he has before his mind the earlier language of the *Book of Wisdom*.<sup>1</sup> The point which, for our purpose, is most noteworthy is that the same inconsistency which is seen in St. Paul's teaching on predestination and freewill was characteristic of the Pharisaic schools in which he had been trained. The conflicting doctrines were set side by side by the Pharisees without any attempt at reconciliation. According to Josephus (*B. J.* ii. 8, 14) they taught that everything is dependent upon Fate and God, but yet the choice of right and wrong lay for the most part with the individual. There is a similar paradox in *Pirque Aboth*, iii. 24, 'everything is foreseen, and freewill is given. And the world is judged by grace, and everything is according to work.' And it is possible that the same paradox is intended by the words in the Pharisaic writing, the *Psalms of Solomon*, 9. 7, τὰ ἔργα ἡμῶν ἐν ἐκλογῇ ('are by the choice of God') καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See p. 228.

<sup>2</sup> See the note of Ryle and James on the passage.

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p. 3, footnote. *For* vol. v. *read* vol. iv.p. 6, last line but five. *For* reflexions *read* reflections.p. 52, margin. *For* 2 Cor. 11. 23 *read* 2 Cor. 11. 2-3.















